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# MID-AMERICA

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THE VOYAGES OF TONTI IN NORTH AMERICA, 1673-1701

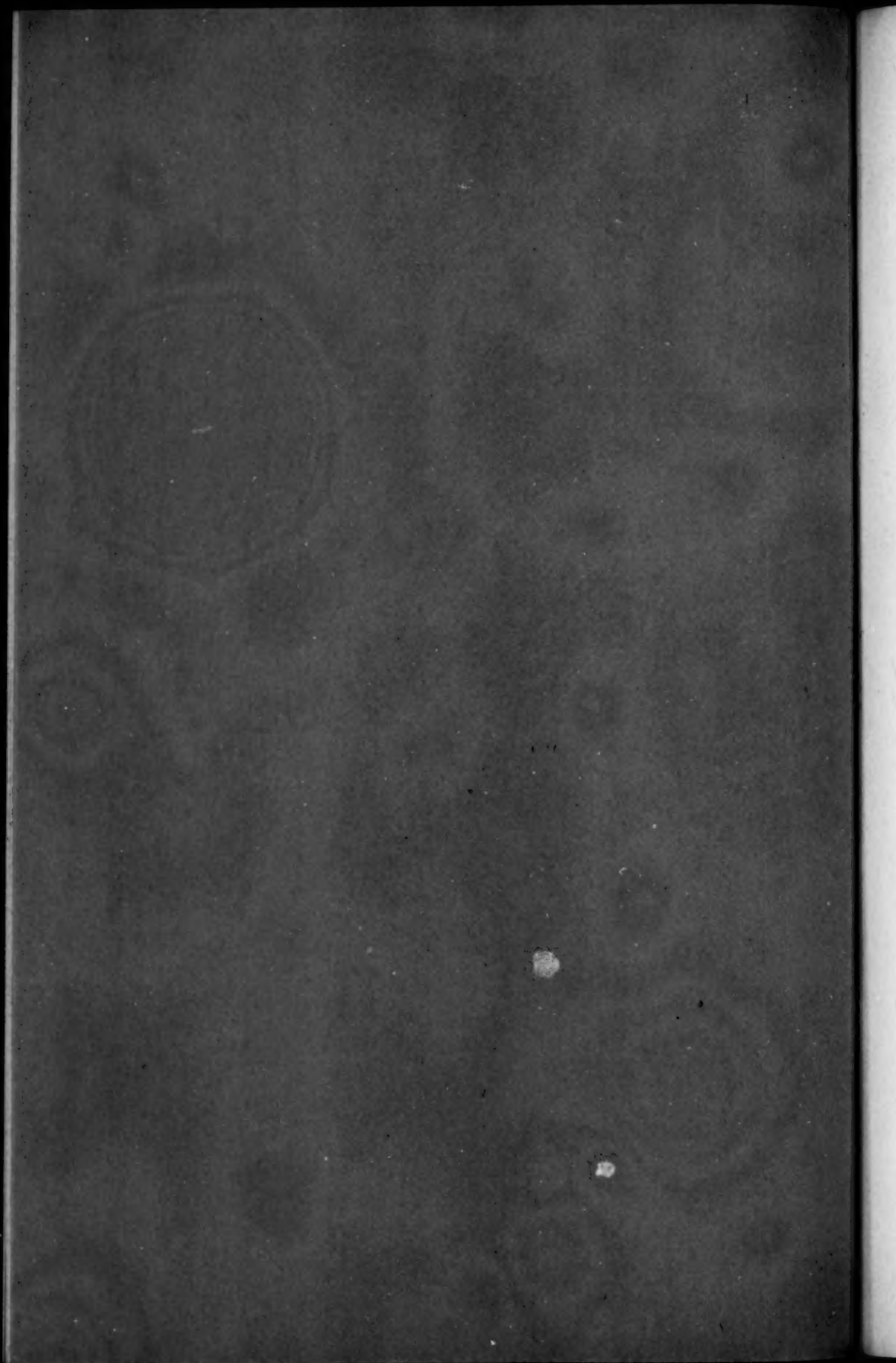
*Jean Delangle*

DOCUMENT: THE 1674 ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF  
THE MISSISSIPPI

*Jean Delangle*

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# MID-AMERICA

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## The Voyages of Tonti in North America 1678-1704

### INTRODUCTION

Three years ago, E. R. Murphy published a book entitled *Henry de Tonty Fur Trader of the Mississippi*, Baltimore, 1941. As the title indicates the emphasis is on Tonti's commercial activities. In the present article the emphasis is exclusively on Tonti's travels during his twenty-six years in North America, from the day when he landed at Quebec, September 15, 1678, to the day of his death at Fort Louis de la Louisiane [Mobile], September 4, 1704. In the calendar of his travels which forms the bulk of this article, only those dates and places have been entered for which there is valid, contemporary evidence; whenever the dates have to be inferences, this is indicated by the wording of the entry or by an explicit statement to that effect. With regard to places, we have, in general, accepted the identifications of local historians.

This article is merely intended to be as complete and accurate a record of his travels as could be compiled with the evidence available in the present circumstances. The maps illustrating the voyages of Tonti from year to year herein published were drawn by Father J. V. Jacobsen under the supervision of the author.

Most of us know, in a general way, that Tonti journeyed time and again from Quebec to the Illinois country, from the Illinois country to the Gulf, but few realize how extensive his travels were. And one's astonishment increases when one remembers that all these journeys were made on foot or by canoe, by a man who had lost one of his hands during the Sicilian campaign several years before coming to America. It may be

that other voyageurs of the period traveled as extensively or even more extensively than Tonti; if they did, they have left no records, and for all the difference it made to the world at large then, or to historians now, these travelers might just as well have remained in Montreal, in Quebec, or for that matter in Europe. When one considers the thousands of miles traveled by Tonti—roughly 35,000, 80 per cent of which in present-day United States—and his matter of fact reference to the extent of his travels, one cannot help recalling the grandiloquent manner with which Hennepin, who traveled with Tonti for six weeks, speaks of the several hundred miles journey on the Mississippi in 1680 as "our great voyage."

Although to all intents and purposes Tonti had become a Frenchman at heart, he was a fellow countryman of those famous Italian travelers like Columbus, Verrazano, Cabot, Vespucci, and other explorers who distinguished themselves in the service of rulers of other countries. He differed from his countrymen by adoption in this respect: he never returned to Europe, but remained in America. Those who have consulted the official correspondence of Canada and Louisiana know how often French colonists, soldiers, officers, and officials returned to France under the slightest pretext. So much so that, on one occasion, Louis XIV rebuked Frontenac and Champigny for having permitted some of the best army officers to return to France, "*seulement pour leur donner occasion de représenter leurs services.*" Some returned again to the colony, but many did not. This abuse was deplored by governors and intendants who had at heart the development of Canada and Louisiana, but in spite of repeated orders from the government in Paris, the abuse persisted until the end of the French régime.

Notwithstanding his prominence in the history of exploration and colonization of the Mississippi Valley during a quarter of a century, Tonti "has never been accorded the place, independent from that of La Salle, which he deserves"; and another writer commented on this neglect by saying that "the glory of the master overshadowed him who was only second in command." Tonti was and remained a lieutenant, even after the death of La Salle. "When the accomplishments of La Salle and Tonty are compared, it is Tonty who gains by the comparison. It is true that he seconded La Salle in all things, but while the latter conceived, Tonty achieved." Is not this an indication that true superiority consists in conceiving rather than in achieving? It

is the difference between the architect and the mason; between the engineer and the mechanic. Unintentionally, this relation between captain and lieutenant is concretely illustrated today in Chicago, where there is a Tonty Room in the La Salle Hotel. Tonti was at his best when he was carrying out orders, not only of La Salle, but of Denonville, of Cadillac, of Iberville. When left to himself, his achievements are not very much different from those of many other voyageurs. Ultimately, this is perhaps the real reason why he has not been accorded the place to which his achievements seem to entitle him. He became, says one writer, "the most important fur trader in the Illinois country." History, however, is more concerned with leaders than with fur traders.

For all that pertains to Tonti's early life, we refer the reader to Murphy's *Henry de Tonty*. Aside from the scanty details here mentioned, we know practically nothing about these early years; even the place and the year of his birth are uncertain.

A few remarks may be made here with regard to the spelling of his name, the title of Chevalier, and his portrait.

I see no reason why the flourish after the "i" which ends his signature should be written "y." His was an Italian name. When French authors mention his compatriots who came to France with Catherine or Marie de Medici, the names are spelled with an "i" not with a "y"; for instance, Mancini, Concini, Conti; and English authors today do not write Garibaldy, Mazziny, or Mus-soliny. When signing his name, Tonti sometimes used the particle "de" which was a sign of noble birth. But as we pointed out elsewhere, anyone could add "de" to his name, and many did so who were not members of the nobility. In most cases, it was merely a widespread fad among bourgeois and commoners eager to imitate in this respect genuine nobility. Some of these titles are just as authentic as that of the character in Racine's comedy, Monsieur de Petit Jean; thus, to mention only a few, Monsieur de McCarthy, Monsieur de Van der Heck, and Louis de Hennepin. Moreover, Tonti was never granted letters of nobility, and never asked for any; there is not one shred of evidence to support Shea's assertion that the members of "La Salle's force were ennobled by his discoveries."

Tonti was not a "chevalier" in any sense whatever, either by reason of the title of his father; or because he belonged to one of the ancient military orders. He was not even a "chevalier de Saint-Louis." True, he asked for the cross of St. Louis in 1700,

but he never received it. To the best of my knowledge, he was first called a knight in a copy of a letter of Denonville to La Forest, dated June 1686.

Finally, the various portraits, pictures, or sculptures purportedly representing Tonti's appearance are entirely products of imagination, as are the paintings, médaillons, and statues representing Cadillac, Iberville, La Salle, and Marquette; to say nothing of the recently reproduced "oil portrait of Father Hennepin, owned by the Minnesota Historical Society," even though there is a "tradition that it is a self-portrait."

### TONTI'S WRITINGS

The most important evidence for Tonti's travels consists in his writings, nearly all of which have come down in copy form. The more significant documents are listed below.

1) A letter dated Michilimackinac, July 23, 1682, Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Clairambault, 1016:165v-168v; the French text and an English translation will be found in M. A. Habig, *The Franciscan Pere Marquette. A Critical Biography of Father Zénobe Membre, O. F. M. La Salle's Chaplain and Missionary Companion 1645 (ca.)-1689*, New York, 1934, 215-229.

2) A memoir dated Quebec, November 14, 1684, of which at the outbreak of the war there were two copies in BN, Clairambault, 1016:220-266, and 267-279. It is printed in P. Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 volumes, Paris, 1876-1888, I, 573-616, referred to hereinafter as I Tonti, Margry. The French text was reprinted from Margry with parallel English translation by M. B. Anderson, under the title *Relation of Henry de Tonty Concerning the Explorations of La Salle from 1678 to 1683*, Chicago, 1898.

I am unable to say which of the two copies Margry printed, or how faithfully he reproduced the text, for when I wished to obtain photographs of the manuscripts, it was impossible to communicate with Paris.

3) The procès-verbal drawn near the mouth of the Mississippi, April 13, 1686, in the Archives du Service Hydrographique (ASH), 67-2:no. 1; printed in Margry, III, 554-558. For further bibliographical details, see *infra*, February 16, 1686.

4) An autograph letter addressed to Seignelay dated Montreal August 24, 1686, ASH, 67-2:no. 1; printed in H. Harriette, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle-France et des pays adjacents 1545-1700*, Paris, 1872, 171-172; and in Margry, III, 553-554.

5) The copy of a letter addressed to Villermont dated Montreal,

August 25, 1686, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:132-133; printed in Margry, III, 559-562. Another copy, in the handwriting of Claude Bernou, but lacking the final paragraph, is in BN, Clairambault, 1016:286-286v.

6) Two copies containing an account of his travels from 1678 to 1690. One copy is in the Archives des Colonies (AC), C 13C, 3:128-141v, a photograph of which cannot be obtained for the same reasons as noted above; the other copy is in BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:103-118, formerly *Renaudot 30*, of which I have a transcript. Peculiarly enough, the AC copy was first published in English by Thomas Falconer, *On the Discovery of the Mississippi*, London, 1844, 47-96; and was reprinted by B. F. French in his *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, New York, 1846, 52-78. It was published for the first time in the original French by P. Margry, *Relations et mémoires inédits*, Paris, 1867, 5-36. The Falconer translation was again re-issued—through the B. F. French reprint—in the *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library, I, 1903, 128-164, and again by I. J. Cox in *The Journeys of René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle*, 2 volumes, New York, 1905, I, 1-58. Finally, L. P. Kellogg reprinted the memoir "with many textual corrections" from the *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library in *Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634-1699*, New York, 1917, 283-318. Throughout the present article we shall refer to this last issue as follows: II Tonti, Kellogg.

This second narrative of his travels was written in the winter of 1690-1691, for besides the fact that the last event mentioned is Tonti's return to the Illinois country from the Southwest in September 1690, there are other indications that it was written at this time. Thus, when Tonti was writing this memoir, he had not yet learned that all the rights to the Illinois country granted by the king to La Salle had been transferred to him and to his partner La Forest; we know, besides that he heard this good news at Michilimackinac in the summer of 1691. Secondly, after learning that he had succeeded to La Salle's trade rights in the Illinois country, he decided to move Fort St. Louis from Starved Rock to Peoria, which was done in the winter of 1691-1692. Neither this migration nor the building of the fort are mentioned in the second memoir.

Not having seen the manuscript used by Falconer and Margry, I cannot say whether the words in the title, "sent in 1693," or the title itself was added later on by the editors or by a clerk in Paris, or whether it was in the official copy originally sent to the minister of the colonies. One thing is certain: the Renaudot copy has no title. W. G. Leland, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, I, Libraries, Washington, D. C., 1932, 97, lists the Renaudot copy thus: "This document is also in Arch. Colonies, C 13, c, vol. 3, ff. 128-141v, where it is accompanied by the copy of a letter from Tonty of Sept. 12, 1693." This is not quite correct. The letter here spoken of, printed in T. C. Pease and R. C. Werner, eds.,



*The French Foundations 1680-1693*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. XXIII, Springfield, Illinois, 1934, 276-279, is not dated. The words of the endorsement, "avec la lettre du Sr. Tonty du 12 7<sup>bre</sup> 1693," appear to be a direction for filing; namely, that this letter and the memoir which accompanied it were to be filed with II Tonty and with the letter of September 12, 1693. Although Leland does not say so, the document immediately following the Renaudot copy of II Tonty, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:119-120, is a duplicate of AC, C 13C, 3:142-143, and is also signed by Tonty. There is no letter of Tonty dated September 12, 1693 in AC, but in BN, among the Villermont papers, there are two Tonty letters. The first, BN, Mss. fr., 22803:285-285v, is dated Montreal September 2, 1693, printed in Margry, IV, 3-5, under date of September 11, 1694; the second, *ibid.*, folio 290, dated Montreal September 12, 1693, is a brief note in which Tonty notifies Villermont that since he must leave Montreal hurriedly, his brother's brother-in-law who is about to leave for France will give Villermont the news. In view of its contents, it seems unlikely that this second letter is the one referred to in the above-mentioned endorsement, but that it refers to a letter, now lost, which was addressed to Pontchartrain and dated September 2, like the letter written to Villermont. The contents of this lost letter may be judged from what he says in the letter to Villermont about the vicissitudes of the memoir of 1691:

"Last year, I had the honor of writing to you, and I also sent to M. l'abbé Renaudot a relation of my voyages to the Gulf of Mexico. The abbé must have handed a copy of this relation to M. de Pontchartrain and one to yourself, in order to inform the minister as well as you, Sir, of what he wished to know."

According to this, Tonty wrote to Villermont "last year," i. e., in 1692, but it is not clear whether the relation sent to Renaudot and now among the latter's papers in the Bibliothèque Nationale was sent in 1691 or 1692, for Tonty says "j'avois envoyé une relation," implying that it had been sent previously, if not to France at least to Quebec. Again, it is not clear from the wording whether Renaudot himself was to have two copies made, one for Pontchartrain and one for Villermont, or whether Tonty had three copies made in America. If Villermont ever received a copy of II Tonty, it has not come to light. The fact that the second copy of II Tonty is found today in the Archives des Colonies, makes it almost certain that it is the one which was sent to Pontchartrain. Whether the signature is Tonty's autograph cannot now be determined, because access to the document is impossible at present.

As is well known, II Tonty was used by a literary jobber as a basis for the *Dernieres decouvertes dans L'Amerique Septentrionale de M. de la Sale; Mises au jour par M. le Chevalier de Tonty gouverneur du Port Saint Louis aux Islinois*, Paris, 1697. What judgment was passed

upon this book by Joutel and by later writers may be seen in J. Delanglez, ed., *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, Chicago, 1938, 20-24.

7) A petition addressed to Pontchartrain in which Tonti recalls his services and gives an abridged account of his voyages to date, AC, C 13C, 3:145-145v; printed in B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, 79-81. This petition was sent in 1692 as can be seen from the postscript dated October 10, 1692, to Frontenac's letter to Pontchartrain, in *Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1927-1928* (RAPQ), 122, and from the summary of various letters sent from Canada and Acadia in 1692, in AC, C 11A, 12:332.

8) The letter already mentioned, AC, C 13C, 3:142-143v, containing a description of the Mississippi Valley. It is followed by a list of supplies asked for by Tonti in order to complete La Salle's discovery. The document was accompanied by a map which is now lost. A translation of the letter is in French, *op. cit.*, 82-83; the letter and the list of supplies are printed in the original and in translation by Pease and Werner, *op. cit.*, 276-282. As we said above, a duplicate of the whole document is in BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:119-120.

As can be seen from what Tonti wrote to Villermont in his letter of September 2, 1693, the letter, the list of supplies, and the map were also sent in 1692:

"I had charged M. de Vaudreuil to look after my interests, but he was busy with family affairs, and consequently did not show you the memoirs I had entrusted to him wherein were listed all the necessary things for which I was asking the Court in order to complete the discovery of M. de la Salle. I beg of you, Sir, to allow M. de la Mollerie [the brother-in-law of his brother Alphonse who was going to France] lieutenant of the troops in this colony to present these memoirs to you."

The Vaudreuil spoken of is Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, who succeeded Callières as governor general of Canada. This officer went to France in the autumn of 1692; cf. P.-G. Roy, *La famille de Rigaud de Vaudreuil*, Lévis, 1938, 29. We do not know whether Vaudreuil showed the "memoirs," i. e., the letter and the list of supplies Tonti was asking for, to Villermont, but it is certain that he handed them to Renaudot and to Pontchartrain in 1693, for today they are filed immediately after II Tonti, both in AC and in BN. During La Mollerie's sojourn in Paris, in 1694, he tried several times to see Villermont but was unsuccessful; he seems to have brought back the memoirs to Canada; cf. A. Tonti to Villermont, September 19, 1694, BN, Mss. fr., 22804:309.

There are no Tonti extant writings describing his travels between 1690 and 1698; for his voyage from Michilimackinac to the mouth of the Arkansas River, 1698-1699, recourse must be had to the letter of M. de St. Cosme.

9) Two letters to his brother in France dated February 28 and



March 4, 1700, respectively; an extract from the first and a copy of the second by Claude Delisle in ASH, 115-10:no. 14; both printed in translation in MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 215-235.

10) Two letters addressed to Iberville, dated February 23 and March 14, 1702, respectively, in which he narrates his voyage to the Choctaw and the Chickasaw countries; extracts by Claude Delisle in ASH, 115-10:no. 20.

To compile this calendar of Tonti's travels, the above fundamental evidence was supplemented by the writings of Tonti's contemporaries. Since the value of most of this evidence is at once apparent, no discussion of it is necessary. A few words, however, should be said about the evidential value of La Salle's letters, of Hennepin's and Le Clercq's books.

For the years 1678-1681, we have the letters of La Salle. As I noted elsewhere, *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, Chicago, 1941, 56, these letters, with one exception, have come down to us mutilated, but what was contained in the missing parts is available in another form in Bernou's *Relation des decouvertes*, printed in Margry, I, 429-544. Since in his *Description de la Louisiane* Hennepin obviously plagiarized Bernou's *Relation*, his testimony does not in any way corroborate the data regarding time and places in all that pertains to the events that took place in the six weeks during which Hennepin traveled with Tonti.

The third contemporary source is the book entitled *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1691. I have said elsewhere that this work as well as Hennepin's later books, and the *Histoire chronologique* attributed to Sixte Le Tac, teem with fabrications. (*Frontenac and the Jesuits*, Chicago, 1939, 260.) Commenting on this judgment, Father Godbout, *Culture*, II, 1941, 103, wrote: "Ce qui n'empêchera pas le P. Delanglez d'en appeler au témoignage de ces écrivains pour étayer ses thèses." Of course I appealed to the testimony of these writers because I do not believe in that crude historical criticism according to which documents are divided into "good" and "bad" documents, and thereafter a good document is accepted *in toto*, while a bad one is wholly rejected; as though there could be no true statement in a "bad" document, and as though when one has established the truth of some particular statement, one must reject it because it is found in the midst of patently false assertions. Father Godbout gives three instances of my appeal to the testimony of Le Clercq, Hennepin, and Le Tac. The first has to do with Le Clercq's *Relation de la Gaspésie* which I never criticized as unreliable. The second refers to Hennepin's *New Discovery*, whose testimony I accepted in this case because it is supported by independent evidence, and I made it a point to say that this was my reason for accepting it. The third appeal to the "testimony of these writers" is nonexistent,

for Father Godbout's reference is to a page in the bibliography where there is not a word about any of the three.

For all that pertains to La Salle's and Tonti's travels; namely, what is contained in chapters XX to XXV inclusive, Le Clercq's *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, J. G. Shea, ed. and transl., 2 volumes, New York, 1881, II, 82-283, is not a primary source at all. It is a compilation concocted in Paris by some individual who never came to America, but who had access to still extant narratives of these voyages. On studying these narratives, we see that he edited, garbled, and doctored them and in order to give an air of veracity to his production, attributed it to two Recollect missionaries, Fathers Membré and Douay. These priests were actually in America with La Salle and Tonti, but cannot in any sense be considered the authors of what we read about La Salle's and Tonti's voyages in the *First Establishment of the Faith*.

I reached this conclusion after analyzing the contents of the above-mentioned two hundred pages of Le Clercq's book, and after ascertaining what were the sources used by the compiler. To ask for some reliable extrinsic source—presumably a contemporary source—in support of this conclusion is as childish as to ask a forger to preface his handiwork with a confession of forgery. Of course, those who accept all documents that come their way, no matter from what quarters, as if they feared to lose a single one; those who are loath to discard a document to which they may be attached for sentimental reasons; those who resent the fact that documentary evidence on which they have relied is shown to be no evidence at all; and finally, those who know little or nothing about the matter; all of these will dismiss as "unconvincing" any proof from intrinsic criticism no matter how cogent it may be. Like the Abbé Vertot, "leur siège est fait."

#### 1678

September 15.—Tonti arrives at Quebec on the *Saint-Honoré*.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 286. September 13 is given in I Tonti, Margry, I, 574. The later date was chosen because a document entitled "Memoire sur la conduite du Sr. de la Salle," AC, F 3, 2:58, dated November 11, 1680, printed in Margry, II, 31, also has September 15. Bernou's Relation, Margry, I, 438, has "[La Salle] arriva à la fin de Septembre à Québec"; erroneously translated "the last of September" by Anderson, p. 15, a mistake repeated by Miss Cross in her translation of Hennepin's *Description de la Louisiane*, p. 15. This passage is copied from Bernou. La Salle "arrived in Canada toward the close of September 1678, with the Sieur de Tonty, an Italian gentleman, full of spirit and resolution, who afterward so courageously and faithfully, seconded him in all his designs." Le Clercq, II, 108.

November 10.—Tonti leaves Quebec with La Salle for Montreal.

November 21.—They arrive at Montreal.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 574.

November 26.—Departure for Fort Frontenac [Kingston, Ontario].

*Ibid.*, 575.

December 16.—Arrival at Fort Frontenac.

*Ibid.* Bernou is vague: "[La Salle] s'y [Fort Frontenac] rendit luy mesme sitost qu'il eut achevé ses affaires"; *ibid.*, 438-439. Le Clercq, II, 109, gives the date of their arrival at the fort as November 18, which is the day when Hennepin says he left it for Niagara, *Description de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1683, 20.

December 24.—Tonti leaves Fort Frontenac with La Salle for Niagara.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 575. There is an error with regard to the length of time they remained at Fort Frontenac in II Tonti, Kellogg, 287. Lamotte and Hennepin had left long before this date, cf. the preceding entry and Lamotte's letter in Margry, II, 8. Tonti did not leave Fort Frontenac "at the beginning of the following year, 1679," as is said in Bernou's Relation, Margry, I, 440.

December 25.—The party lands at the mouth of the Genesee River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 576; II Tonti, Kellogg, 287. After going to a near-by Seneca village, they resumed their journey on Lake Ontario to Thirty Mile Point.

December 26.—Arrival at the mouth of the Niagara River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 576. From Thirty Mile Point they went on foot to the mouth of the Niagara River "no doubt walking for the most part along the edge of the high bank." F. H. Severance, *An Old Frontier of France: The Niagara Region and Adjacent Lakes under French Control*, 2 volumes, New York, 1917, I, 39.

#### 1679

January 30.—Tonti is called to the shipyard of the *Griffon* to take command during La Salle's absence.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 577. Cf. II Tonti, Kellogg, 287. The *Griffon* was built near the mouth of Cayuga Creek, *The Historical Writings of the late Orsamus H. Marshall*, Albany, 1887, 88-94.

February 1.—Tonti goes back with La Salle to the mouth of the Niagara River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 577. It was on this occasion that La Salle "traced at the outlet of the river a fort which he named Conty." See Bernou's interpretation of this "tracing," *ibid.*, 442.

After February 1.—Returning to Cayuga Creek, Tonti visited the Niagara Falls.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 577.

July 22.—Tonti with five men leaves the Niagara River for the Strait between Lake Huron and Lake Erie.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 578-579. This journey was made by canoe along the north shore of Lake Erie.

August 9.—Arrival at the Strait.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 579. From the text one cannot determine whether they waited for the *Griffon* near Amherstburg, Essex County, Ontario, or farther north. Tonti specifically states that they arrived at the Strait August 10, and that the *Griffon* was sighted early the following morning. On the other hand, Bernou says that the ship reached the entrance of the Strait, August 10, feast of St. Lawrence; this is repeated by Le Clercq, II, 114. We also know the day when they sailed across Lake St. Clair. This widening of the strait was thus named by the Recollects on board the *Griffon*, Bernou in Margry, I, 446, in honor of this Franciscan saint, Sainte Claire, because they crossed it on her feast day, August 12. As Hennepin quaintly puts it: "Que nous nomâmes le Lac Sainte Claire à cause du jour de cette Sainte que nous traversâmes." *Description de la Louisiane*, 51.

August 27.—The *Griffon* casts anchor at Michilimackinac.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 589. The same date is found in Bernou, *ibid.*, 448, and in Le Clercq, II, 114. "At the end of August," II Tonti, Kellogg, 288.

August 29.—Tonti is sent to Sault Ste. Marie by La Salle.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 579. No date is given by Bernou, *ibid.*, 449, nor in II Tonti, Kellogg, 288.

September 17.—He arrives at Michilimackinac from Sault Ste. Marie.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 579. Bernou is in error when he writes that Tonti did not return to Michilimackinac until November, *ibid.*, 450; later in his Relation, the abbé gives November 20, *ibid.*, 461, as the date of his arrival at the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

October 5.—Tonti leaves Michilimackinac for the mouth of the St. Joseph River with the deserters he had rounded up at Sault Ste. Marie.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 580. "Tonti . . . came down the eastern shore

of the lake," Kellogg, 288, note 3. That he followed this route is implied in a passage of Bernou's Relation: "[La Salle] was surprised to find no one there [at the mouth of the St. Joseph River] for the *Sieur de Tonti's* route was much shorter." Margry, I, 459.

November 12.—Arrival at the mouth of the St. Joseph River. I Tonti, Margry, I, 580. Bernou, *ibid.*, 461, has November 20.

December 3.—The expedition begins the ascent of the St. Joseph River.

Bernou's Relation, Margry, I, 461. The same date is given by Le Clercq, II, 117.

After December 6.—Finding of the portage between the St. Joseph River and the headwaters of the Kankakee.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 581. December 6 seems to be the day when they arrived at present-day South Bend and began to search for the portage which they had learned was in the vicinity. In "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels," MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 293, I erroneously stated that the expedition arrived at the headwaters of the St. Joseph River on December 6.

December 15.—The expedition begins the descent of the Kankakee River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 582. It is not clear whether Tonti means that they began the descent on this day or whether December 15 is the date when some of La Salle's men planned to desert him. The first alternative seems more probable in view of the day of arrival at the great Illinois village.

#### 1680

January 1.—Arrival at the great Illinois village which was situated on the Illinois River between present-day Utica and Ottawa.

La Salle's autograph letter of *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 36. December 31, 1679, is the date in I Tonti, Margry, I, 582. With regard to events which took place while La Salle and Tonti were together, the former's letters—when available—are more reliable than Tonti's memoir written four years after the events. Le Clercq, II, 117, says "toward the close of December."

January 5.—The expedition arrives at Lake Peoria.

La Salle's letter of *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 37. January 3, 1679, according to II Tonti, Kellogg, 289, the year is corrected by the editor. From the text of I Tonti, Margry, I, 583, it is not clear whether he means that they arrived on January 4, at the spot where Fort Crèvecoeur was to be built, or whether they met Illinois Indians on this day.



March 1.—Tonti in command of Fort Crèvecoeur.

Margry, II, 55, 117. For the dates in I Tonti and II Tonti, cf. "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels," MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 295.

Beginning of April.—Tonti goes to Starved Rock, on receiving an order from La Salle to build a fort there.

The date is an inference. "[La Salle] sent me an order to go up [from Fort Crèvecoeur] to the village of the Illinois to build a fort on an eminence half a league from the village. I set out for that purpose . . ." I Tonti, Margry, I, 583-584. La Salle met two of his men at the mouth of the St. Joseph River, March 24. La Salle's autograph letter of post September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 59. "These two men were sent to me with orders to go to the old village to visit a rock and to build a fort upon it. While I was absent all my men deserted." II Tonti, Kellogg, 290. See the following entry.

April 15.—Tonti leaves Fort Crèvecoeur with Fathers Membré and de la Ribourde and three Frenchmen, en route to the Illinois village near Starved Rock.

La Salle's letter of the autumn of 1681. We are giving below the passage of this letter as it is found in BN, Clairambault, 1016:58; Margry, II, 133, left out the words in brackets. On his way down the Illinois River, in December 1680, La Salle came upon the damage done by the deserters at Fort Crèvecoeur; here he found "un bordage ou nous vismes ces mots escrits Nous sommes tous sauvages ce 15 a [la le bordage estoit coupé] Je creus que le parisien de qui je reconneus l'écriture avoit escrit ces mots a la haste le 15 d'aoust qui estoit environ le temps que je jugeois que les ilinois avoient fuy au moins les anciens et quils emmenoient les françois . . . [M. de Tonty y avoit fait écrire ces mots quand il fut obligé d'aller au village des ilinois pour servir de marque a Michel Ako qui devoit venir des Sciou quil estoit avec les ilinois cela estoit escrit du 15 avril quelques jours aprez la desertion mais cõe il ne paroissoit que l'A je crus que c'estoit aoust.]" This agrees with what we read in I Tonti: "Comme il [La Salle] m'avoit promis d'estre de retour à la fin de May, nous tachasmes [in the Illinois village] de couler le temps le mieux qu'il nous fut possible." Margry, I, 584.

September 12.—Tonti is wounded by an Iroquois Indian near the Illinois village.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 586. The chronological sequence in I Tonti is to be preferred to the few dates given by La Salle in his account, Margry, II, 121 ff., because La Salle was not there at the time. There is a mistake of transcription in II Tonti, Kellogg, 293, "The eighth day after their [Iroquois] arrival, on the 10th of September, they called me and Father Zénoble [Membré] to council." This took place

September 19, I Tonti, Margry, I, 588. Compare the narrative of the whole episode in the two Tonti memoirs and in La Salle's letter with that of Le Clercq, II, 140-144.

September 20.—Tonti accompanied by Fathers Membré and de la Ribourde and three other Frenchmen leaves the Illinois village for the north.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 588. Le Clercq, II, 145, has September 18. The strength of the party is specified by La Salle, Margry, II, 124.

September 21.—Five leagues from the Illinois village Father de la Ribourde is killed by Kickapoo Indians.

The date is specified in I Tonti, Margry, I, 588; the distance from the Illinois village in II Tonti, Kellogg, 294. Le Clercq, II, 145, says eight leagues. It was only learned later that the missionary had been killed by Kickapoo Indians. Cf. the Bernou variant, Margry, I, 511, of La Salle's autograph letter of the autumn 1681, Margry, II, 124.

September 22.—The party resumes the journey northward.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 588. They waited until noon, II Tonti, Kellogg, 294; La Salle's letter, Margry, II, 125, and, of course, in Bernou's Relation, Margry, I, 511. See the Le Clercq version, II, 145-148.

First part of October.—Tonti and his companions reach Chicago.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 589. The date is deduced from what is said in II Tonti, Kellogg, 294. After the disappearance of Father de la Ribourde, they proceeded "by short journeys." Their route was the same as that of Jolliet and Marquette seven years earlier; namely, up the Illinois River and the Des Plaines to the Chicago portage. Cf. La Salle's letter of the autumn of 1681, Margry, II, 125.

October 31.—Their canoe is wrecked by a storm.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 589.

November 1.—Leaving Boisrondel on the shore of Lake Michigan, Tonti with Father Membré and the two Frenchmen starts on foot for a Potawatomi village, twenty leagues away.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 589; II Tonti, Kellogg, 294.

November 11.—Arrival at the Potawatomi village which they found deserted.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 589-590; II Tonti, Kellogg, 294. St. Martin's Day is November 11, not November 14.

December 4.—Somewhere on the east shore of Green Bay they find Potawatomi wintering quarters.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 591; and cf. II Tonti, Kellogg, 295-296. It is



difficult to follow their wanderings after they began their inland journey. One thing is certain: they portaged from Lake Michigan to Green Bay at Sturgeon Bay. Tonti remained with the Indians of this village, while Father Membré went to the St. Francis Xavier mission, which was situated near De Pere, Wisconsin.

## 1681

Latter part of May.—Tonti leaves the Potawatomi village for Michilimackinac.

Both I Tonti, Margry, I, 592, and II Tonti, Kellogg, 296, have "in the spring"; the less general date of this entry is deduced from the day of his arrival at Michilimackinac.

June 4.—Arrival at Michilimackinac.

"I arrived at Missilimakinak the eve of Corpus Christi [June 5]." I Tonti, Margry, I, 592. "We reached Missilimakinak about Corpus Christi in 1680 [*i. e.*, 1681]." II Tonti, Kellogg, 296. "About the middle of June," Le Clercq, II, 151.

After June 6.—Tonti leaves Michilimackinac with La Salle for Fort Frontenac.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 593; II Tonti, Kellogg, 296.

Latter part of June.—Tonti and three other men remain "on a small Island of Lake Simcoe."

I Tonti, Margry, I, 593.

In July or August.—Tonti goes to Teioïagon, an Indian village which was situated west of present-day Toronto.

According to II Tonti, Kellogg, 296, he went directly to this village; but in I Tonti, preceding entry, he clearly states that La Salle left him on a small island of Lake Simcoe. The fact that he proceeded later to Lake Ontario is implied in his first memoir: "*M'ayant envoyé dans le brigantin ce qu'il [La Salle] avoit pu trouver au fort [Frontenac]. . .*" I Tonti, Margry, I, 593. Teioïagon was located at the mouth of the Humber River, cf. P. J. Robinson, *Toronto during the French Régime, A History of the Toronto Region from Brûlé to Simcoe, 1615-1793*, Toronto and Chicago, 1933, 29 ff.

August.—Tonti receives an order from La Salle to proceed to the St. Joseph River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 593.

September 19.—Tonti at Michilimackinac.

Duchesneau's memorial of November 13, 1681, in E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (NYCD), Albany, 1855, IX, 164. An extract from this memoir is published in Margry, II, 266-274, the pertinent passage p. 272.

October 15.—Tonti arrives at the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

In the summary of Father Membré's letter, Margry, II, 203, this missionary is said to have arrived "aux Miamis" on this day. October 15 was chosen in preference to November 10, I Tonti, Margry, I, 593—no date is given in II Tonti, Kellogg, 296—because we know that La Salle was at Michilimackinac in the first part of October, when Tonti had already gone. He very probably left at the end of September and came down the east shore of Lake Michigan.

December 21.—Tonti and most of the men assembled by La Salle for the expedition to the Gulf, go by canoe, along the south shore of Lake Michigan, from the mouth of the St. Joseph River to Chicago.

Tonti's letter dated Michilimackinac, July 23, 1682, BN, Clairambault, 1016:165v; Habig, *The Franciscan Pere Marquette*, 215. This information is repeated in Bernou's so-called *Relation officielle*, cf. "La Salle's Expedition of 1682," MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 28. December 21 is also found in I Tonti, Margry, I, 593. "We went in canoes to the River Chicaou where there is a portage which joins that of the Illinois." II Tonti, Kellogg, 296.

December 27.—The expedition arrives at the mouth of the Chicago River.

Tonti's letter in Habig, 215.

#### 1682

January 6.—One day's journey from the Chicago portage, on the Des Plaines River, Tonti is joined by La Salle.

La Salle's autography fragment, Margry, II, 166. Tonti's letter, Habig, 215, has January 4; I Tonti, Margry, I, 593, January 14, the latter is probably a misprint.

NOTE. From January 6 to June 2, the progress of the expedition can be followed in "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels 1643-1683," MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 300-303.

June 4.—Tonti with D'Autray, Brossard, Cauchois, Massé, and a Sokoki Indian, leaves Fort Prudhomme for the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 611. Although D'Autray is not mentioned here, he was one of the six men of the party, cf. *infra*, July 22. Father Membré begins his letter of June 3 as follows: "Le prompt départ de M. de Tonti [m'oste] les moyens de vous escrire amplement." Margry, II, 206.

June 10.—They reach the mouth of the Ohio.

This and the date of the next two entries are inferences.

June 12.—A day and a half's journey above the mouth of the Ohio they meet four Iroquois Indians.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 611; II Tonti, Kellogg, 304. The distance is given in Tonti's letter, Habig, 228.

June 16.—Meeting of a band of Tamaroa, Illinois, and Missouri Indians.

I Tonti, Margry, 611; Tonti's letter, Habig, 228. According to II Tonti, Kellogg, 304, this meeting occurred twenty leagues from the Tamaroa village.

June 20.—They leave the Tamaroa village where they had arrived two days earlier.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 612.

June 27.—They arrive at the Illinois village and find it abandoned.

*Ibid.*

End of June.—At Chicago.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 304. They traveled overland from the Illinois village to Chicago. I Tonti, Margry, I, 612.

First part of July.—Arrival at the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 612. They went by canoe along the south shore of Lake Michigan.

July 22.—Tonti and two companions arrive at Michilimackinac.

"I reached Michilimackinac, July 22." I Tonti, Margry, I, 612. "We arrived . . . by the middle of July at Missilimakinac." II Tonti, Kellogg, 304. His letter from Michilimackinac is dated July 23. "Je laissay Cauchois, et le sr. D'autray a la riviere des Miamis et suis venu icy moy 3<sup>e</sup>," which Habig, 229, translates as follows: "I left Cauchois and the Sieur Dautray at the river of the Miamis and have myself come here on the 3rd." He adds in a note: "No doubt, an error; the 23rd, the date of the letter is probably correct." The error is the translator's. Tonti does not say that he arrived at Michilimackinac on the 3rd, but rather that he arrived at the post with two companions, Brossard and Massé, he being the third man of the party. "Moi troisième," "moi quatrième," etc., are very common seventeenth-century expressions to indicate the number of men in a party. Their route was along the east shore of Lake Michigan. All these routes are indicated on the accompanying maps.

September.—Tonti is sent by La Salle to "build a fort at the portage of the River of the Illinois."

Tonti left after the arrival of La Salle who came to Michilimackinac in September. II Tonti, Kellogg, 304. The purpose of his journey is given in I Tonti, Margry, I, 612. The "portage of the River of the Illinois" is that near South Bend, Indiana, and not Crèvecoeur, as said by Nicolas de La Salle, Margry, I, 570.

October.—Finding no Indians at the portage, Tonti goes on to the Illinois country to spend the winter there.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 613. No "fort" was ever built at South Bend. When La Salle arrived at the portage in December and found no one there, he, too, went to the Illinois country, and built Fort St. Louis on Starved Rock during the first months of 1683.

### 1683

January-March.—Tonti with La Salle and other Frenchmen fortify Starved Rock.

"M. de la Salle . . . joined me December 30 [1682], and during the winter we built Fort St. Louis on an inaccessible rock." I Tonti, Margry, I, 613. The fort "was finished in March, 1683." II Tonti, Kellogg, 305. La Salle "had a fort built on a rock near the bank of the River of the Illinois, across from their village." Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 570.

April.—Tonti travels more than one hundred leagues to the winter quarters of the Illinois, and invites them to settle near Starved Rock.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 613. We do not know where the Illinois had their winter quarters that year. This voyage is thus referred to in the second memoir: "During the winter I gave all the nations notice of what we had done to defend them from the Iroquois [i. e., the building of Fort St. Louis on Starved Rock]." II Tonti, Kellogg, 305.

May.—Tonti at Fort St. Louis.

La Salle to La Barre, June 4, 1683, Margry, II, 328.

After August 11.—Tonti in command at Fort St. Louis.

La Salle's last dated act at Fort St. Louis is that of August 11, Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 28; he was at Chicago, September 1, *ibid.*, 36. In his first memoir, Tonti does not specify the date of La Salle's departure, "he departed during the month of August, 1683." I Tonti, Margry, I, 613. Considering the date of La Salle's Chicago letter, there is evidently an error in II Tonti, Kellogg, 305. "M. de la Salle departed for France in the month of September, leaving me in command of the fort."

Beginning of September.—Tonti is replaced as commandant by Baugy but remains at Fort St. Louis.

La Barre to Seignelay, June 5, 1684, AC, C 11A, 6:273; Ordonnance contre Cavalier de la Salle, in E. Serrigny, ed., *Journal d'une expédition contre les Iroquois en 1687*, Paris, 1883, 174-175; Baugy's letter to his brother, *ibid.*, 182; La Barre's order of July 20, 1684, *ibid.*, 186-187.

Besides I Tonti, Margry, I, 614, and II Tonti, Kellogg, 305, the following documents show that Tonti remained at Fort St. Louis until April 1684, Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 45, 64; postscript to a letter of Baugy to La Durantaye, March 24, 1684, AC, C 11A, 6:519v.

#### 1684

After May 23.—Tonti leaves Starved Rock for Montreal and Quebec.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 614. No date is given in II Tonti, Kellogg, 306, nor in his petition to Pontchartrain, French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, 79. We do not know whether on his way to Michilimackinac he passed through Chicago and then followed the west shore of Lake Michigan, or whether he went up the Kankakee on to the St. Joseph River and then along the east shore of the lake; nor do we know whether from Michilimackinac he took the Ottawa River route, or the Lake Simcoe route through Fort Frontenac and down to Montreal.

September 20-29.—Tonti at Quebec.

Pease and Werner, *op. cit.*, 53-54; *Journal d'une expédition contre les Iroquois*, 188-189.

October 14.—Tonti at Montreal.

Pease and Werner, *op. cit.*, 56; *Report concerning Canadian Archives for the Year 1905*, 3 volumes, Ottawa, 1906, I, lxii. "I had left for the said fort [St. Louis], but the way being blocked by the ice, I was forced to return." I Tonti, Margry, I, 614.

November 14.—Tonti at Quebec.

This is the dateline of I Tonti, Margry, I, 614. According to II Tonti Kellogg, 306, he spent the winter at Montreal. The letter of Callières to Seignelay, November 9, 1684, NYCD, IX, 249, does not give the date of his return to Montreal.

#### 1685

Spring.—Tonti leaves Montreal for the Illinois country.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 306. We do not know whether he took the Ottawa River or the Lake Simcoe route to Michilimackinac, and whether he went from there through Chicago or through South Bend.



June 26.—Tonti at Starved Rock.

Remise du commandement du fort St. Louis par le chevalier de Baugy à Henry de Tonty, in *Journal d'une expédition contre les Iroquois en 1687*, 189-190. In II Tonti, Kellogg, 306, he simply says that he arrived in June.

Autumn.—Tonti leaves Fort St. Louis for Michilimackinac.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 306. Cf. Tonti to Villermont, Montreal, August 24, 1686, Margry, III, 560.

November 30.—Tonti leaves Michilimackinac for Starved Rock. Having heard that La Salle was in the Gulf of Mexico, he set out to join him.

"I embarked, therefore, for the Illinois, on St. Andrew's Day, but, being stopped by the ice, I was obliged to leave my canoe and to proceed by land." II Tonti, Kellogg, 307. "La saison estoit tardive, ce qui m'obligea de quitter mon canot, à cause des glaces, pour retourner au fort et chercher par une autre route le sieur Rolan, qui me portoit la lettre de M. le Marquis [de Denonville]." Tonti to Villermont, August 24, 1686, Margry, III, 560. He may have gone down the west shore of Green Bay to De Pere, and thence to Chicago.

End of December.—Arrival at Chicago.

"After going 120 leagues, I arrived at the Fort of Chicacou, where M. de La Durantaye commanded." II Tonti, Kellogg, 307.

### 1686

January 15.—Tonti reaches Starved Rock.

"I arrived there January 15, 1686." Tonti to Villermont, August 24, 1686, Margry, III, 560. "Thence [Chicago] I came to Fort St. Louis, where I arrived in the middle of January." II Tonti, Kellogg, 307. This section of the second memoir is based on Tonti's letter to Villermont, which in turn summarizes several documents written on the occasion of his second voyage to the Gulf from February to June 1686, *infra*.

February 16.—Tonti with twenty-five Frenchmen and four Shawnee leaves Starved Rock for the Gulf.

Procès-verbal of April 13, 1686. The document, incompetently edited by Margry, II, 554-558, is in ASH, 67-2:no. 1, and was written by J. B. Nolan. Besides the latter signature, it bears that of Tonti and of eight of the members of the expedition, "Les autres cy Dessus nommez ont declarez ne scavoir signer." Two defective copies are in BN, Clairambault, 1016:281-285, and 287-287v, the latter is in Bernou's handwriting. An abridgment of ASH is in AE, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique, 5:442-444. Although the date of departure in ASH is February 13, February 16 is the correct date, for it is found in Tonti's autograph letter to Seignelay, dated Montreal, August 24,

1686, ASH, 67-2: no. 1; in II Tonti, Kellogg, 307; and in the two Clairambault copies. The day of the month is not given in Denonville's letter to Seignelay, November 8, 1686, NYCD, IX, 301; Tonti's petition to Pontchartrain, French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, 79, gives only the year. In his edition of Tonti's letter to Seignelay Harrisse, *Notes pour servir*, 171-172, twice questions the reading "Riuier des Moines(?)," the text has "Riuier des Mouilla" and "Riuier des mouilla"; that is, the river on which Movila stood at the time of the De Soto expedition, our Tombigbee River. Two other passages should be emended, "y liuoit" in the text is "y Li auoit," and "lauroit relaché" is "Jauroi relaché"; and the word "pamico" is "panuco." The reader may compare Harrisse's version thus corrected with Margry's publication of Tonti's letter.

February 27.—The expedition arrives at the winter quarters of the Illinois, situated, that year, eighty leagues below Starved Rock. Tonti hired five Illinois Indians to accompany him to the Gulf. The whole party now numbered thirty-five men.

Procès-verbal, ASH, 67-2: no. 1.

March 19.—The northernmost Arkansas village, named Kappa [Quapaw], was reached on this day.

Procès-verbal, *ibid.*, the day of the month is spelled out, "Le dix neufiesme." The two Clairambault copies have March 17.

After March 19.—They visited two other Arkansas villages on the Mississippi situated below that of the Quapaw.

"Le village appelé . . . [*sic*, this was the Tongigua village] qui est a sept Lieux au dessous limita et le village des Imma [*i. e.*, Imaha or Tourima, not Omma as in Margry] a trois Lieux au Dessous en fit de mesme [*scl.*, me Danserent le calumet pour affermir la paix entre nous]." Procès-verbal, ASH, 67-2: no. 1.

April 1.—They leave the Taensa villages. On this same day, apparently, they meet the Natchez on the bank of the Mississippi.

*Ibid.*

April 4.—The expedition arrives opposite the Pischenots, and is visited by the chief of this tribe the following day.

*Ibid.* This is the only time when the name of these Indians appear; the author of the pseudo-Douay account in Le Clercq, II, 277, borrowed this name from a copy of the procès-verbal. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, s. v. Pischenoas, does not identify them; the word is spelled as in Margry, whereas in the procès-verbal it is written as in the above entry; the two Clairambault copies have Pichen8.

April 8, 10:00 A. M.—Tonti and his men pass by the Quinipissa village.



*Ibid.* This village was situated in the vicinity of Plaquemine, Louisiana; it was composed of Bayougoula and Mugulasha, see Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, s. v. Acolapissa.

April 9.—Arrival at the mouth of the Mississippi.

Procès-verbal, *ibid.*, "I reached [the sea] in Holy Week," that is, between Monday, April 8 and Saturday, April 13, II Tonti, Kellogg, 307. In his letter to Villermont, Tonti says that he reached the sea April 10, Margry, III, 561.

NOTE. The dates are set down as they are found in the procès-verbal, but as can be seen from the following table, there are clearly mistakes with regard to distances and dates.

#### APRIL.

		DISTANCES			
		Leagues		Miles	
		(Procès-verbal)		(U. S. Survey)	
1	Below Natchez	0		0	
4	Arr. Pischenots	62			
5	Lv. Pischenots				
8	Opposite Quinipissa	49	111	150	
9	Mouth of the Mississippi	40	151	220	370

April 10.—Tonti sends a canoe to the west and another to the east of the mouth of the Mississippi to look for La Salle, while he himself remains on an island at the mouth of the river. These two canoes were to follow the coast for three days, but owing to lack of fresh water, they returned to the island on April 12.

"Le premier [canoe] après avoir navigue trente Lieux à Louest fut obligé de relascher faute Deau douce . . ." Procès-verbal, ASH, 67-2:no. 1. The men who reported that in two days they made a two-hundred-mile journey evidently exaggerated. In his letter to Villermont, Margry, III, 561, Tonti increased this distance to thirty-five leagues. Even the twenty leagues of the author of the *Dernieres decouvertes*, 220, appeared improbable to Joutel, ASH, 115-9:no. 12. The other canoe "qui estoit allé du Costé du Cap de la floride [apres vingt Lieux de navigation] furent obligé aussy de relascher . . . Leur route fut au nord nord est." Procès-verbal, ASH, 67-2:no. 1; the words in brackets are omitted in Margry, III, 557. In his letter to Villermont, he says that they went twenty-five leagues northeastward, and the letter left for La Salle at the Quinipissa village has the following: "Deux canots ont costoyé du costé du Mexique trente lieues, et du costé du cap de la Floride vingt-cinq, lesquels on été obligés de relascher faute d'eau douce." Margry, IV, 191. "I sent out one canoe towards the coast of Mexico, and another towards Carolina, to see if they could discover anything. They each sailed about thirty leagues,

in either direction, but were obliged to stop for want of fresh water." II Tonti, Kellogg, 307.

April 13.—Date of the procès-verbal "drawn up on Saint Henry Island situated to the west of the mouth of the Colbert River, on the shore of the sea of Florida."

ASH, 67-2:no. 1.

April 15.—Tonti leaves the spot where La Salle had taken possession of Louisiana in 1682.

"Ayant trouvé les armes du Roy emportées par la marée, je cherchay un lieu propre pour les faire peindre à un arbre avec cette inscription: 'Louis le Grand règne,' et fis percer un trou de tarière dans un autre arbre, où je fis mettre une lettre pour M. de la Salle." Tonti to Villermont, Margry, III, 561; no date is given in this letter, but in that which he wrote to Seignelay he says that this took place April 16. One reason for selecting April 15 instead, is because of the special mention in the second memoir of a day which could be easily remembered: "We encamped in the place where M. de La Salle had erected the arms of the King. As they had been thrown down by the floods, I took them five leagues farther up, and placed them in a higher situation. I put a silver écu in the hollow of a tree to serve as a mark of time and place. We left this place on *Easter Monday* [April 15, in 1686]." II Tonti, Kellogg, 308. Another reason why April 15 is more probably correct is that it should not have taken more than two days to reach the spot where La Salle had taken possession of Louisiana four years earlier. "Ayant trouvé le poteau, où vous aviez arboré les armes du Roy, renversé par les boys de marées, j'en ay fait planter un autre au decà, environ sept lieues de la mer, et j'ay laissé une lettre dans un arbre à costé, dans un trou de l'arrière [tarière], avec un escriteau dessus." Tonti to La Salle, April 20, 1686, Margry, IV, 190-191. The details in the second memoir were utilized by the author of the *Dernieres decouvertes*, 222, and are thus criticized by Joutel: "A legard du poteau quil dit avoir planté Et sur lequel il dit avoir posé et ataché un ecusson des armes du roy de son aveu il nous a dit quil avoient fait quelques Croix sur des arbres et quil avoit mis un escu dans la fente dun arbre qui apparemment doit estre lecusson dont il fait mention." ASH, 115-9:no. 2.

April 19.—The expedition arrives at the Quinipissa village. Before his departure, on the following day, Tonti leaves with the Indians a letter for La Salle.

"Les quinipisa nous demande la paix je leurs ai accordé et donné une lestre pour Mr. de la Salle en cas quil vin." Tonti to Seignelay, August 24, 1686, ASH, 67-2:no. 1. This passage, as punctuated by Margry, III, 553, does not make sense. The date of his arrival at the

Quinipissa village, April 25, in the letter to Villermont, *ibid.*, 561, is erroneous; Bernou's copy of it, BN, Clairambault, 1016:286v, has April 19; this agrees with the date of Tonti's letter to La Salle which was given thirteen years later to Sauvolle, Margry, IV, 274, and was brought by Bienville to Iberville. The latter inserted a transcript of the first part of this letter in the journal of his first voyage to Louisiana, *ibid.*, 190-191.

End of April.—At the Huma village.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 308. This and the two following dates are inferences based on the dates specified in the documents of the voyage of 1682.

Beginning of May.—Halt at the Yazoo village.

Tonti to Seignelay, ASH, 67-2:no. 1; to Villermont, Margry, III, 561.

Middle of May.—Tonti leaves some of his men in one of the Arkansas villages and proceeds with the rest to the Illinois country.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 308.

June 24.—Arrival at Starved Rock.

*Ibid.*

Shortly after June 25.—Tonti embarks for Montreal with two Illinois chiefs.

*Ibid.* There is no indication of his route, cf. *supra*, "After May 23, 1684."

End of July.—Arrival at Montreal.

*Ibid.* "Chevalier de Tonty, who came to see me at Montreal in the month of last July." Denonville to Seignelay, November 8, 1686, NYCD, IX, 300. There is clearly an error farther down in the same letter, *ibid.*, 301, where it is said that he arrived at Montreal "in the beginning of July with two Illinois chiefs."

August 18, 24, 29.—Tonti at Montreal.

On August 18, he signed a deed authorizing Legras and Poupard to bring merchandise to the Illinois country; the document is in the Chicago Historical Society Library. August 24 is the date of Tonti's letters to Seignelay and Villermont. On August 29, he signed a trade agreement with Bellefontaine and Potier.

Beginning of September.—Tonti leaves Montreal for the Illinois country.

"I left that place [Montreal] at the beginning of September."  
II Tonti, Kellogg, 308. In his letter to Seignelay and in that to Villermont, both dated August 24, he says that he is leaving the following

day. We know, however, that he was still at Montreal on August 29. "He left at the end of August." Denonville to Seignelay, November 8, 1686, NYCD, IX, 300. Again there is no indication of his route.

December.—Arrival at Starved Rock.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 308.

### 1687

April 17.—Tonti leaves Starved Rock for the Strait.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 308.

May 19.—Tonti arrives at the Strait with a contingent of Indians and French.

*Ibid.*, 309. Margry's text translated by Kellogg is erroneous. "After 200 leagues of journey by land, we came, on the 19th of May, to Fort Detroit," *au fort du Détroit*, in Margry. "I sent one [canoe] to Fort St. Joseph, which was at the harbor of Detroit," *au havre du Détroit*, in Margry, "thirty leagues from where we were." These readings do not make sense. In 1687, there was only one fort on the Strait, that built by Duluth in 1686, near present-day Sarnia, Ontario. The copy of the second memoir in the Bibliothèque Nationale has "*au bas du detroit*" and "*au hault du detroit*," respectively. What Tonti says is that after arriving at the Detroit River somewhere in Wayne County, he sent a canoe to Fort St. Joseph, ninety miles to the north. He and his contingent traveled overland from Starved Rock to the Strait, roughly through northern Indiana and southern Michigan. This overland journey is mentioned in his letter to Villermont, Margry, III, 562; in his petition to Pontchartrain, French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, 80; in his letter to his brother, MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 219; and in Denonville's letter to Seignelay, NYCD, IX, 301. He probably followed a route corresponding to that of La Salle, cf. C. H. Prator, "La Salle's Trip across Southern Michigan in 1680," *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, XLVII, 1941, 112-117.

June 27.—Tonti, La Durantaye, and Duluth, with Indians and French arrive at Niagara, where they "made a fort below the portage to wait there for news."

II Tonti, Kellogg, 309. Their route from the Detroit River to Niagara was by canoe along the north shore of Lake Erie. The date of their arrival is in Denonville's account of the expedition against the Seneca, October 1687, NYCD, IX, 362-363.

July 10.—Arrival at the marsh of Fort des Sables, "a temporary post at the mouth of the Irondequoit River, New York," due north of Rochester.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 310. For the identification of places in this section of western New York, cf. N. S. Olds, *Journal of the Expedition of*

*Marquis de Denonville Against the Iroquois: 1687*, Rochester, 1931, map on p. 36. This is the translation of Baugy's *Journal d'une expédition*.

July 13.—Brush with the Iroquois near Victor, New York.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 310. Olds, *op. cit.*, 36, note 20; Denonville's account, NYCD, IX, 365.

July 23.—The expedition leaves the Seneca country for Fort des Sables.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 310. The date is in Olds, *op. cit.*, 43, and in Denonville's account, NYCD, IX, 368.

July 24.—At the mouth of the Irondequoit River.

Olds, *op. cit.*, 44; Denonville, NYCD, IX, 368.

July 26.—The expedition goes on to Niagara.

Olds, *op. cit.*, 45; Denonville, NYCD, IX, 368.

July 30.—Arrival at the mouth of the Niagara River.

Olds, *op. cit.*; Denonville, NYCD, IX, 368. The events mentioned in the above four entries are laconically referred to by Tonti: "We returned to Fort des Sables, then embarked, and went to build a fort at Niagara." II Tonti, Kellogg, 310.

August 2.—Tonti leaves Niagara with Duluth. Hearing that Iroquois were in ambush, he returned to the fort; but left for the Illinois country the following day, August 3.

Olds, *op. cit.*, 48; Denonville's account, NYCD, IX, 368; II Tonti, Kellogg, 310-311. He went by canoe along the north shore of Lake Erie, stopped at Duluth's fort, and at Michilimackinac. From the latter place to Fort St. Louis, we do not know whether he went down the east shore or the west shore of Lake Michigan.

October 27.—Tonti arrives at Starved Rock.

Joutel's journal, Margry, III, 485. No date is given in II Tonti, Kellogg, 311.

NOTE. For the next two years Tonti remained in the Illinois country. There is positive evidence that he was at Starved Rock on the following seven dates:

December 20.—Joutel's journal, Margry, III, 497.

1688

March 21.—*Ibid.*, 508.

June.—De Gannes' memoir in Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 307, 340.



Autumn.—*Ibid.*, 324; II Tonti, Kellogg, 311.

1689

March 28.—Tonti to Villermont, BN, Clairambault, 1016:288-289, printed in Margry, III, 564.

September 7.—Couture arrives bringing the news of La Salle's death, of which he had been informed by Cavalier, Douay, and Joutel, more than two years earlier.

Shortly afterwards, Tonti sent Couture to Nicondiché. "He set off, and at 100 leagues from the Fort [Starved Rock] was wrecked and, having lost everything, returned" to Fort St. Louis in the Illinois country whence he had started. II Tonti, Kellogg, 311. From what Tonti wrote it is clear that Couture did not go much farther than the mouth of the Illinois River, a round trip of about 500 miles. Yet, according to a map which purports to express Couture's voyage cartographically, BN, Ge DD, 2987-8784, he is supposed to have gone all the way down to the mouth of the Mississippi, which according to this map is located on the east coast of Texas; and then to have paddled along the coast to Mobile Bay. The map also indicates that he ascended—and, naturally, descended—the Ouabache, and another unnamed large river emptying into the Mississippi across from the mouth of the Arkansas, as well as the Arkansas River itself and the Missouri River. A legend inscribed between these two rivers at the latitude of Memphis informs us that La Salle was killed in this region. On this same voyage, Couture also ascended the Rio Grande to the Rockies, crossed these mountains and descended a "R. S' Francois," which is shown as emptying into the Gulf of California at the latitude of Yuma, Arizona. Although this point is actually at the northern end of the Gulf of California, the map represents a voyage along the Gulf coast three hundred miles north of this latitude, and another voyage along the coast three hundred miles to the south of the "R. S' Francois" but we cannot say from the map which direction he took first. Finally, crossing the Gulf of California in his canoe, he landed on the east coast of "l'Isle de Californie [Baja California]" and followed the coast to the south for another three hundred miles. This "voyage" of Couture is one of the most fantastic in all the literature of mythical travels; yet, G. Marcel, *Cartographie de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1885, 18, no. 28, seems to take it seriously.

November 26.—Land concession on the Arkansas River granted to the Jesuits, MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 236-237.

December 3.—Tonti leaves Starved Rock for Matagorda Bay with four Frenchmen, one Shawnee, and two slaves.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 312. "He departed [from the Illinois country] in

1689, to go in search of the remains of M. de la Salle's people." French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, 80. "Il auance quil partit des illinois le troisieme decembre 1687 Et nous etions encorre avec luy au mois de mars 1688." Joutel's comments, ASH, 115-9:no. 12, on the statement in the *Dernieres decouvertes*, 317. "1687" is clearly a misprint for 1689. The next ten pages of Joutel's comments are a sarcastic criticism of this voyage of Tonti. Joutel, however, was not criticizing Tonti himself but the ghost-writer who made use of the second memoir and interspersed it with "information" contained in the pseudo-Douay in Le Clercq, and in general even outdoing Hennepin's imaginative efforts published at Utrecht at about the same time. Joutel ends his criticism with these words: "Je suis surpris quil aye voulu souffrir que son nom fut incéré comme lautheur de louvrage Se deuant estre contenté den auoir donne des memoires en ce que lon auroit Jugé que ce seroit de luy." It does not seem to have occurred to Joutel that until 1700 Tonti was ignorant of the use made of his second memoir by the author of the *Dernieres decouvertes*. How could Tonti have prevented this literary jobber from giving rein to his imagination considering that while the ghost-writer was giving way to a too common mania of improving an author's text, Tonti himself was somewhere in the wild country northwest of Lake Superior? It should also be noted that Joutel's scepticism concerning the existence of some Indian tribes of western Louisiana mentioned in II Tonti and in the *Dernieres decouvertes* is out of place, for Tonti speaks of tribes which Joutel never saw or heard of.

December 17.—Tonti and his companions arrive at the mouth of the Illinois River.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 312.

1690

January 16.—The party arrives at the northernmost Arkansas village, Kapa [Quapaw], and remains there four days.

January 20.—At the Tongigua village.

January 22.—At the Tourima village.

*Ibid.*, 313.

January 23.—Leaving his men in the Tourima village, Tonti goes to the Ossotoué [Uzutiuihi] village, "where my commercial house is."

*Ibid.* On this "maison de commerce," cf. Joutel's journal, Margry, III, 420, 436; its approximate location is discussed by S. Faye, "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: French Domination," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXVI, 1943, 634-635.



January 27.—Having returned from Ossotoué on the preceding day, Tonti leaves Tourima with his men for the South.

February 5.—At the Taensa portage.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 313.

February 12.—Tonti and his party, augmented by thirty Taensa, leave the village of these Indians for Natchitoches, Louisiana.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 314. The text printed by Margry and the text of the copy of II Tonti in the Bibliothèque Nationale are faulty. In this passage Tonti speaks of his sending two of his men from the Taensa portage to the Natchez to make inquiries about two other Frenchmen who had abandoned him. Returning to the Taensa, on February 8, they brought back word that the two Frenchmen had been killed by the Natchez. In neither of the two copies is there any indication that after receiving this news, Tonti went down the Mississippi to the Red River, but both texts simply state that he left the Taensa villages for the northwest.

#### Margry

Ils arrivèrent le 8 février. Nous EN partîmes le 12 avec trente Taença, et après douze lieues de navigation au nordouest, nous quittâmes notre pyrogue, fîmes vingt lieues de portage et, le 17 février 1690, nous arrivâmes au village des Nachicoche . . .

#### Bibliothèque Nationale

Ils arrivèrent le 8 fev. aux Taença nous EN partîmes le 12<sup>e</sup> avec 30 Taença et apres 100 [!] lieues de navigation au Nord Ouest nous quitâmes nre Pyrogue, fîmes 20 lieues de portage, et le 17<sup>e</sup> fevr. nous arrivâmes au village des Nachitoché.

Those who plot Tonti's route up the Red River should explain why he abandoned his pirogue after twelve leagues, and then began a portage of twenty leagues to Natchitoches which was situated on the banks of the Red River. Again, if he had gone up the Red River on his way to Natchitoches, it would have been much easier to return to the Mississippi from the Kadohadacho village by drifting down the river on rafts or in canoes than by crossing on foot through swamps and water the whole width of present-day Louisiana. Finally, when in 1700, Tonti was asked by Iberville to accompany the latter to the Cenís, neither Iberville, nor Tonti himself on this occasion or in any of his later writings gives the slightest indication that he had ever been on the lower course of the Red River.

The above text should, I think, be interpreted as follows. He went overland from the Taensa villages, crossing the Ouachita River, which comes from the northwest and is about twelve leagues from his starting point; then across country to Natchitoches which is about twenty leagues from the Ouachita River. His route would thus be approxi-

mately the same as that which Bienville took ten years later, cf. Margry, IV, 432-443.

February 17.—Arrival at Natchitoches.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 314.

Beginning of March.—Arrival at the Naché [Neché] village.

Some time after his arrival, the Indians of Natchitoches "gave guides to the Yataché; and after ascending the river, always to the northwest, about thirty leagues, we found fifteen cabins of Naché, who received us pretty well." II Tonti, Kellogg, 314.

March 16.—At the Yataché [Yatasi] village.

*Ibid.* These Indians lived in the vicinity of present-day Shreveport, Louisiana.

March 30.—Arrival at the village of the Cadodaquis [Kadohadacho].

*Ibid.*, 315. "We got to the Cadodaquis on the 28th," inaccurately translates "Nous arrivâmes proche des Cadodaquis le 28." "The Cadodaquis are united with two other villages called Natchitoches and Nasoni. They are situated on the Red River." When Bienville left the Yatasi village on April 22, 1700, for that of the Kadohadacho, his guides told him that it would take him "dix nuits—i. e., eleven days, cf. ASH, 115-10: no. 17 Q—pour y aller en pirogue le long de la rivière, ce que je ne peux croire, n'estant qu'à deux journées par terre de ce village, mais où je ne puis aller à cause des grandes eaux . . ." Bienville's journal, Margry, IV, 441. Because the Indians steadfastly maintained that it would take eleven days by canoe to the Kadohadacho village, and also because the ships were due to weigh anchor in twenty days, Bienville returned to the Gulf. As can be seen there is an interval of fourteen days between Tonti's arrival at the Yatasi village and his arrival at that of the Kadohadacho. The journal of Bienville, *ibid.*, 442, enables us to locate the latter Indian village with a fair degree of approximation: "Au rapport de tous les Sauvages de ce village [Yatasi], la rivière de Marne [Red River] passe au village des Cadodaquios, et se sépare en deux branches à une journée au-dessus d'eux: l'une court au nord-est, et l'autre au ouest-nord-ouest." Hence the Kadohadacho village where Tonti went was situated in Miller County, southwestern Arkansas, below the junction of the Little River with the Red River.

April 6.—Tonti with a Frenchman and seven Indians leaves the Kadohadacho villages for Naoudiche [Nabedache].

II Tonti, Kellogg, 316.

April 24.—Arrival at Naoudiche.

*Ibid.* The Nabedache village was situated in the northeastern part

of Houston County, Texas, cf. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, s. v. Nabadache. Joutel estimated that between this village and Kadohadacho there were about fifty leagues in a northeastern direction, Margry, III, 388-411, which is approximately the distance in that direction between the northeastern part of Houston County and the Red River in Miller County, Arkansas. Joutel made the journey in twelve days' march; Tonti's downward journey took fourteen days of actual traveling, while the return journey was made in twelve.

April 29.—Departure from Naoudiche.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 317.

May 10.—Arrival at the Kadohadacho village.

*Ibid.*, 320. In his two letters to his brother of 1700, MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 218-219, 222-223, he says that he was pursued by the Spaniards to this village, and that he had left it six days before their arrival there. There is no mention of this incident in the memoir of 1690-1691. Cf. W. E. Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702*, Austin, Texas, 1917, 123-124.

May 17.—They leave the Kadohadacho with a guide who was to take them "to the village of the Coroas." After four days' journey, their guide abandoned them; then setting their course to the southeast, "and after about forty leagues' march, crossing seven rivers, [they] found the river of the Coroas."

II Tonti, Kellogg, 320-321. In 1700, an Indian guide told Bienville that six leagues north of a Washita village which was situated twenty-one leagues due west of the Taensa, there was a Koroa village on a tributary of the Ouachita River. Margry, IV, 433-434.

July 11.—From the "river of the Coroas," after fifty leagues of travel through flooded country, they reached the Mississippi.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 321. Tonti's return journey through present-day Louisiana, from the Kadodahacho village to the Mississippi, cannot be plotted with any degree of approximation. He must have wandered in every direction if the dates have been correctly transcribed by the copyist, or must have lost his way repeatedly, for it took him two months to cross Louisiana from east to west, a distance of barely 200 miles. Even the point where he came upon the Mississippi cannot be determined, next entry. It might be possible to plot his route approximately if we had the map which he sent with his description of the Mississippi Valley, cf. Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 276.

July 14.—They arrive at a Koroa village.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 321. When they reached the Mississippi, having taken their bearings (*nous estant reconnus*), they found that they "were only thirty leagues from the Coroas"; and in spite of the fact

that they "had not eaten for three days," they traveled more than one hundred miles on foot during this time. If this distance is correct, we must also suppose that, exhausted by fatigue and privations, they traveled in three days half the distance they covered in twelve days in the next stage of their journey, after being rested and refreshed. In *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 43, Washington, D. C., 1911, 329, Swanson observes that, since there is nothing in the text to show that they crossed the river, the Koroa village must have been situated on the west bank of the Mississippi, and hence they could hardly have avoided passing through the Taensa villages. There is no mention of this tribe, which Tonti knew well, and where he would have been as well treated, if not better treated than by the Koroa in whose village he "had never set foot." In the journal of his first journey up the Mississippi, Iberville wrote that the Koroa village was on their left as they went up the river, and that it was situated three days' journey above the Taensa village, which, he says, was on their right. Margry, IV, 179. He makes these statements on the authority of a Taensa Indian; but since the actual position of the Taensa village is on the opposite bank, it is doubtful whether Iberville understood what his informant had told him.

July 31.—Tonti and his companions arrive at the Arkansas.

August 11.—Departure from the Arkansas for the Illinois country.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 321.

September.—Arrival at Starved Rock.

*Ibid.* "Ten months were spent in going and returning." Tonti's petition to Pontchartrain, French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, 80; that is, from the beginning of December 1690 to late in September 1691.

#### 1691

Spring.—Tonti leaves Starved Rock for Michilimackinac.

De Gannes' memoir, Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 324 and 326.

Summer.—At Michilimackinac.

"Au mois de Septembre je receu une Lettre de Mr. de Tonty de Michillimaquinac." *Ibid.*, 326.

Winter.—On arriving from Michilimackinac, Tonti began the building of a fort near present-day Peoria, Illinois.

*Ibid.*, 327. From this date on when "Fort St. Louis" is referred to in the documents of the period, it is no longer question of the fort

built by La Salle on Starved Rock, but of the stronghold on the east side of Peoria. Cf. C. W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country 1673-1818*, Springfield, Illinois, 1920, 100, note 9.

## 1692

La Forest arrived in the spring with hired men and soldiers to finish the fort at Peoria. Whether Tonti left the Illinois country for Montreal in the summer is not clear from the available evidence. The postscript by Frontenac to Tonti's petition of this year implies that he was in Lower Canada, French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, 81. The letter of Father Gravier to Villermont, March 17, 1694, BN, Ms. fr., 22804:60, likewise seems to say that he left the Illinois country in 1692: "Monsieur Dilliette son cousin quil a laissé icy pendant deux ans quil en a esté absent . . ." And Tonti himself wrote to Villermont "ayant chargé M. de Vaudreuil de mes intérêts," implying that he personally spoke to Vaudreuil in 1692. It would seem then that Tonti went to Montreal that year, but we do not know whether he returned to the Illinois country or to Michilimackinac. See next entry.

## 1693

August.—Tonti arrives at Montreal from Michilimackinac.

Narrative of the most remarkable occurrences in Canada. 1692-1693. NYCD, IX, 568-569. Cf. the postscript to Frontenac's letter of August 18, 1693, RAPQ, 1928, 154.

After September 12.—Tonti leaves Montreal for Michilimackinac.

"They [Ottawa Indians] were followed by the French under the direction of the Sieur de Tonty commandant at the Illinois." NYCD, IX, 569. These Indians left on September 11. While in Montreal Tonti sent two letters to Villermont dated September 2 and 12, respectively. *Supra*, Tonti's writings, no. 6.

## 1694

April 11.—Tonti at Fort St. Louis, Peoria.

Statement signed on this day giving the number of Iroquois killed or captured by the Illinois since 1687, AC, C 13A, 1:27, printed in Margry, IV, 5, note 1. We do not know the date of his arrival from Montreal in the preceding year, but he was certainly at Fort St. Louis before April 11, as is clear from Gravier's letter to Villermont of March 17, 1694, BN, Mss. fr., 22804:60. Nor do we know which route he followed from Michilimackinac to the Illinois country.

## 1695-1696-1697

August 8, 1695.—Tonti leaves Michilimackinac for the Assiniboin country.



Between the spring of 1695, when he left Fort St. Louis for Michilimackinac, cf. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 353, and September 13, 1698, Tonti traveled extensively in the Lake Superior region. The only definite information which we have about these voyages is found in a letter of Cadillac written in 1696, and which was addressed to Lagny. "Having learned that the Sieur d'Iberville had left to attack Port Nelson, I thought it would be good to know as soon as possible the outcome of this expedition. I spoke of what I had in mind to the Sieur de Tonti who immediately and willingly offered himself to go by way of the lakes and rivers in search of news. I took him at his word and gave him twenty men to accompany him. He left on August 8, last year [1695]. Contrary winds long detained him on Lake Superior; then ice set in, so that he was not able to go very far and only journeyed about 200 leagues [from Michilimackinac]. As soon as the ice melted, he pursued his journey and is bound for the great lake of the Assiniboin which discharges its waters into the sea through the river of Port Nelson. I gave orders to the Sieur de Tonti, in case some accident should have befallen the Sieur d'Iberville, to give the latter all the help he could, by means of the Indians and French who went with him, and to do all that was necessary in such circumstances.

He sent back three of the French who were with him; they arrived here [Michilimackinac] toward the end of June [1696]. Tonti writes that he heard from the Indians that the Sieur d'Iberville has conquered Hudson Bay, and lost only two men; but he also says that he has been unable to learn anything definite about the capture of Fort Nelson. You will no doubt learn all about it this year." BN, Clairambault, 882:138.

As can be seen from the above, Cadillac gives no indication whatever with regard to Tonti's route. The route marked by E. R. Murphy on his map of Tonti's voyages is just as plausible as any other. We are not even sure of the identity of the "lac des Assiniboels" spoken of by Cadillac. The latter, it is true, says that this lake "va tomber a la mer par la riviere du port Nelson." This would identify it with Lake Winnipeg. However, Cadillac's knowledge of this part of Canada like that of everyone else at the time, was too vague to be used as a sure basis for identification. Cf. the numerous sketch maps of Claude Delisle in AN, JJ, 75.

It is interesting to compare Cadillac's reason for Tonti's voyage in the letter quoted above with the reason given by Frontenac and by Champigny. The governor wrote to his friend Lagny, November 2, 1695, Margry, V, 63, that Tonti undertook this voyage to free himself from the persecution of the Jesuits of Michilimackinac. Four days later Champigny wrote to Pontchartrain that the reason why Tonti went to the Assiniboin country was simply to satisfy his greed; *ibid.*, 66. Cf. also *id.* to *id.*, October 13, 1697, AC, C 11A, 15:129.

## 1697-1698

## Winter.—Tonti in the North.

Father Gravier was nearly killed by the Illinois, "pendant que Iestoit au nord lhyver passe." Tonti to St. Vallier, July 14, 1699, *MID-AMERICA*, XXI, 1939, 238. He is here referring to the winter of 1697-1698, because during the winter of 1698-1699, he went down to the Arkansas.

## 1698

## September 10-13.—Tonti at Michilimackinac.

On September 10, he transferred half his share of the Illinois concession to his brother Alphonse. Facsimile of the document in *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, VI, 1923, 577. The date October 27, 1698, is when it was deposited with the keeper of deeds. The words "déposé pour minutte de ce jour," are translated "deposited at midnight [!] of this day," a rendering reproduced by Murphy, *Henry de Tonty*, 118. Murphy also copied the wrong date of the English translation of this document, September 19 instead of September 10.

September 13 is the date of Tonti's letter to St. Vallier notifying the bishop that he was leaving the following day with MM. de Montigny, St. Cosme, and Davion for the Arkansas. Copy of this letter in the Archives du Séminaire de Québec (Laval University), *Carton Missions*, no. 50. Cf. Gravier to Laval, September 20, 1698, JR, 65:60.

September 14.—Tonti leaves Michilimackinac with the priests of the Foreign Missions.

Letter of M. de St. Cosme dated Arkansas, January 2, 1699, Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 342. On this letter, cf. "The Sources of the Delisle Map of North America, 1703," *MID-AMERICA*, XXV, 1943, 289-290.

September 21.—The party camps on Summer Island, which lies across the entrance of Green Bay.

Kellogg, 343.

September 29.—They stop at a Potawatomi village "distant about twenty leagues from the crossing of the bay."

*Ibid.*, 344. According to Kellogg, this village was "on the Lake Michigan side of the Door County, peninsula," Wisconsin.

October 4.—They arrive at another Potawatomi village "on the site of the present Manitowoc, Wisconsin."

*Ibid.*

October 9.—Arrival at the site of present-day Milwaukee.

*Ibid.*, 345.

October 11.—At the mouth of the Root River, on the site of present-day Racine, Wisconsin.

*Ibid.* In the De Gannes' memoir, the Root River, Kipikaoui, is spoken of as follows: "Lembouchure de la Riviere de Chipiscatouy qui se décharge dans le Lac Mechigané, a 20 L. en deça de Chicagoua du Costé du nord," Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 392. The position of towns and rivers is always given with reference to Montreal where this memoir was written.

October 17.—The party leaves Racine, Wisconsin.

In the interval they had attempted to reach the Illinois River by way of the Fox. Finding no water at the portage, they thought "that there would not be any in the Peschoui either," and so returned to the shore of Lake Michigan. Kellogg, 345, notes 4 and 5.

October 21.—Arrival at the mouth of the Chicago River.

*Ibid.*, 346.

October 29.—Departure from Chicago.

*Ibid.*, 347.

November 8.—At "Mont Joliet."

*Ibid.*, 349. This is situated near Joliet, Illinois. The earliest and only inscription of this bluff on a map, where it is misplaced, is on a copy of the map which Jolliet drew from memory after his return to Quebec in July 1674. Cf. S. J. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, volume II, Part I, *Atlas*, Springfield, Illinois, 1942, notes on plate IV, p. 2. "Mont Joliet" is not mentioned in any document of the seventeenth century which I have seen until the letter of St. Cosme; but the name had persisted in the Illinois country. "Il y a même un Endroit qu'on appelle le Mont Joliet . . . cet Endroit ce nomme Jillet [i. e., Joliet, not Illes as in the printed copy] parce qu'un Voyageur qui portoit ce nom y fut arrêté fort longtemps." De Gannes' memoir, Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 303. There is no authority for saying that Jolliet was "detained here a long time."

November 11.—At the confluence of the Des Plaines and the Kankakee rivers.

Kellogg, 349.

November 15.—Arrival at Starved Rock.

November 19.—At Fort St. Louis, Peoria.

*Ibid.*, 350.

November 22.—The party leaves Fort St. Louis.

*Ibid.*, 351.

December 5.—Arrival at the mouth of the Illinois River.

*Ibid.*, 354.

December 6.—They pass the mouth of the Missouri River.

December 7.—Tonti goes to the Tamarois village.

*Ibid.*, 355.

December 12.—Off Cape St. Antoine.

*Ibid.*, 356. "Cape St. Antoine appears to have been just above the Grand Eddy in Perry County, Missouri"; *ibid.*, note 1. This agrees with the corrected position of "Cap St. Antoine ou il y a un grand courant," on the 1702 Delisle map of the Mississippi. Cf. "The Sources of the Delisle Map of America, 1703," *MID-AMERICA*, XXV, 1943, 292-293; Penicaut's Relation, Margry, V, 404. The name dates back to the time of La Salle's expedition of 1682.

December 22.—At the mouth of the Wolf River, near the site of present-day Memphis, Tennessee.

December 25.—Christmas Day was spent in the vicinity of present-day Helena, Arkansas.

December 26.—"We slept at the place where the Kappas, a tribe of the Acansças, formerly dwelt," near Knowlton, Arkansas. Kellogg, 358.

December 27.—Arrival at the northernmost Arkansas village, situated five leagues below the camping place of the preceding day.

*Ibid.*, 358-359.

December 30.—As the second Arkansas village, Tongigua, nine leagues from the first.

December 31.—At the third Arkansas village, Tourima.

*Ibid.*, 360.

#### 1699

January 3.—Tonti leaves the Arkansas for the Illinois country.

*Ibid.*, 361.

May.—At Fort St. Louis.

Tonti to St. Vallier, July 14, 1699, *MID-AMERICA*, XXI, 1939, 237.

July 14 to the autumn.—Tonti at Michilimackinac.

Tonti to St. Vallier, *ibid.*; to his brother, February 28, 1700, *ibid.*, 216-217.

#### 1700

Beginning of February.—Tonti stops at the Taensa villages on his way to the Gulf.

"About this time, Monsieur de Tonti, seignior of the Illinois, stopped at the Taensa with a few Frenchmen from the Illinois country. He was on his way to the fort which the French have built on the 'baye des biloxis.'" Montigny to —, July 17, 1700, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:128. Sauvolle had written to Tonti the preceding year notifying him of the time of the arrival of the ships. Margry, IV, 459. The fort mentioned by Montigny was Fort Maurepas, on the site of present-day Ocean Springs, Mississippi. Cf. J. Delanglez, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, Washington, D. C., 1935, 5, n. 33.

February 16.—Tonti with seven Canadians arrives at Fort Mississippi, which was situated near Phoenix, Louisiana.

R. L. Butler, ed. and transl., *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, Chicago, 1934, 12. Iberville to Pontchartrain, February 26, 1700, Margry, IV, 364; Iberville's journal, *ibid.*, 404. Bénard de La Harpe, *Journal historique de l'Etablissement des Français à la Louisiane*, New Orleans, 1831, 26.

February 19.—Tonti leaves Fort Mississippi with Iberville.

Iberville to Pontchartrain, Margry, IV, 366; Iberville's journal, *ibid.*, 405.

February 24.—Tonti at the "Portage des égarés."

Journal of Iberville, *ibid.*; the letter to Pontchartrain has February 23. In neither is the name of the portage given; this is found in the extract from a letter of Le Sueur, April 4, 1700, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:8. The Portage des égarés, sometimes identified with the site of present-day New Orleans, was situated between Laplace and Sellers, Louisiana. Cf. Margry, IV, 188, 312; ASH, 115-10:no. 17 Z.

February 28.—At the Quinipissa village, i. e., the Bayougoula-Mugulasha.

Iberville's journal, Margry, IV, 406; *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 22. Tonti's letter to his brother in France was written at the Quinipissa landing, MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 215-220. Sauvolle, Margry, IV, 453, 455, 457, explains the discrepancy between the location of this village at the time of La Salle's expedition and in 1700. Cf. also ASH, 115-10:no. 17 Z. In 1682, the village was located between Edgard and Hahnville, Louisiana; in 1700, near present-day Bayou Goula, Louisiana.

March 1.—Tonti stops at the Portage des égarés on his way to Fort Mississippi.

Letter of Le Sueur, BN, Ms. fr. n. a., 21395:9.

March 4.—At Fort Mississippi.

This is the date of his second letter to his brother in France, MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 220-235.



March 24.—Tonti at the Huma landing.

*Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 45; Iberville's journal, Margry, IV, 418.

March 28.—Tonti arrives at the Natchez landing, and goes to the villages of these Indians on the following day.

Le Sueur's letter, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:12v.

April 3.—Tonti leaves the Natchez for the Tunica.

*Ibid.*, 13.

Mid-April.—Arrival at the Tunica villages, whence he wrote to Iberville before leaving for the North.

Iberville's journal, Margry, IV, 430.

NOTE. If Tonti went to the Illinois country, I have found no record of his arrival there. Le Sueur, who was also ascending the Mississippi, on his way to the Sioux country, arrived at the Tamarois village at the end of June 1700, Margry, IV, 408, note 2. As I noted elsewhere, "The Sources of the Delisle Map of America, 1703," *MID-AMERICA*, XXV, 1943, 291-293, his journal is unfortunately inaccessible at present. Instead of publishing this important journal, Margry chose to print the childish, unreliable, and practically useless recollections of André Pénicaud; cf. E. McCann, "Pénicaud and His Chronicle of Early Louisiana," *MID-AMERICA*, XXIII, 1941, 288-304. However little Pénicaud can be depended upon, it seems that if Le Sueur had overtaken Tonti, he would have mentioned this fact.

This was Tonti's last visit to the region with which his name is more indissolubly linked than with any other part of North America. We do not know when he left for the Gulf. Here again the missing information is perhaps contained in the journal of Le Sueur, who returned from the Sioux country in 1701, arriving at Fort Maurepas on July 16, that is, three weeks before we know that Tonti was also there.

## 1701

August 4.—Tonti at Fort Maurepas.

Sauvolle's narrative, D. Rowland and A. G. Sanders, eds. and transls., *Mississippi Provincial Archives 1701-1729, French Dominion*, Jackson, Miss., 1929, 16. Tonti may have made another voyage to the Mississippi between this date and the arrival of Iberville, for the following item undoubtedly refers to a journey which took place in 1701, since we know for certain that he was not on the Mississippi River between January 1 and March 31, 1702. "Estat de la Depense qui a esté faite par M<sup>r</sup> Diberville . . . pour l'establissement de la Riviere de la Mobille depuis le p<sup>r</sup> Janv<sup>r</sup> au 31<sup>e</sup> mars 1702 . . . Au s<sup>r</sup> de Tonty pour son Remboursement de la somme de quatre vingt Livres pour une pirogue de bois a luy appartenant, qu'il a perduë au service

du Roy dans la Riviere de Mississipy suivant son receu cy joint." AC, C 13A, 1:373.

## 1702

January 11.—Tonti leaves Dauphine Island with Bienville and Sérigny for Mobile Bay. Here, some twenty miles above the present-day city of Mobile, was begun a few days later the first French settlement on the Gulf Coast. The official name of the settlement was Fort Louis de la Louisiane, but it was commonly referred to as Mobile.

Nicolas de la Salle's narrative, Margry, IV, 530-531; Iberville's journal, *ibid.*, 505-506. Neither mentions the fact that Tonti went, but this is clear from the following entry.

February 8.—Tonti is sent by Iberville to the Choctaw and Chickasaw.

Nicolas de la Salle's narrative, Margry, IV, 531. The order of Iberville is in the latter's journal, *ibid.*, 507.

February 14.—Tonti leaves the Tohome village for the Choctaw.

This Indian village was then situated on the west bank of the Tombigbee River, at latitude  $31^{\circ} 22'$ ; Iberville's journal, Margry, IV, 514. It is placed on the east bank of this river in Claude Delisle's sketch of Mobile Bay, AN, JJ, 75-239.

February 21.—Arrival at the first Choctaw village.

February 24.—Departure from the second Choctaw village for the Chickasaw country.

This second Choctaw village was five leagues from the first, and sixty-three leagues northwest of the Tohome, or in Montgomery County, Mississippi. In his summary of the information supplied by Tonti, Iberville wrote: "Des Chactas aux Tohomés, cinquante-cinq à soixante lieues au sud-sud-est. Les Chactas peuvent estre par  $33^{\circ}$  degrés 30 minutes nord ou  $34^{\circ}$  degrés au plus." Margry, IV, 519. Hence in Webster County or in Calhoun County, Mississippi. In a memoir written after his return to France, Iberville gives the position of these Choctaw villages as  $33^{\circ} 45'$ . Margry, IV, 593.

March 3.—Tonti arrives at a Chickasaw village situated forty-four leagues north by west of the second Choctaw village, *i. e.*, in present-day Fayette County, Tennessee.

He wrote to Iberville: "Nous arrivames au village le 3 Mars aiant tenu notre route au N. 4 de N. E." In the summary already mentioned, Iberville reversing the direction wrote: "Des Chicachas aux Chactas, il y a environ quarante et quarantecinq lieues au sud quart sud ouest";

not as Margry, IV, 519, has it, "sud quart ouest." When, however, Tonti's return journey is plotted league by league, the line does not make a north by east angle, but a north by west angle. In the memoir written after his return to France, Iberville placed the Chickasaw villages at latitude  $35^{\circ} 20'$ . Margry, IV, 594.

March 6.—Tonti departs from the Chickasaw village with "5 des considerables 2 louez et 3 femmes Chicacha."

March 14.—Tonti writes to Iberville from the second Choctaw village where he had arrived the day before.

All the above information concerning dates and places is found in the two letters mentioned *supra*, Tonti's writings, no. 10. These extracts were further summarized by Claude Delisle in ASH, 115-10:no. 17 Z. The route is plotted on the well-known *Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississipi*, published at Paris in 1718 by Guillaume Delisle. On this map the Chickasaw villages are located above the latitude of present-day Memphis, between the Mississippi and the R. de la Mobile, i. e., the upper reaches of the feeders of the Tombigbee River.

March 25.—Tonti arrives at Mobile with Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians.

La Salle's narrative, Margry, IV, 531; Iberville's journal, *ibid.*, 516.

April 15.—Tonti at Pensacola.

This is the date of a letter written from Pensacola to Pontchartrain. The letter itself does not seem to be extant, but an extract from it made by a clerk in Paris is in AC, C 11A, 20:149v-150. Tonti says that Iberville sent him thither "pour y faire un fort et contenir les nations des Chicachas et Chactas."—In his letter of December 12, 1702, M. Davion seems to refer to another visit of Tonti to Pensacola. Not long ago, the missionary wrote, the English had instigated a massacre there. Besides two Spanish missionaries and a few Spaniards, two hundred Indians, allies of the Apalaches, had been put to death by Carolina Indians. "We learned this from the governor of Pensacola, when we went there in a pinnace with M. de Tonti who had been asked by the governor to take measures for the protection of his fort." Archives du Séminaire des Missions Étrangères, Paris, 344:60. A copy of this volume of letters is in the Dominion Archives, Ottawa.

### 1703

December 22.—Tonti leaves Mobile with the expedition led by Bienville against the Alibamons [Alibamu].

The villages of these Indians were situated in Elmore County, Alabama, at the confluence of the Coosa and the Talapoosa Rivers.

## 1704

January 3.—Skirmish with the Alibamu at two days' journey from their village, which was situated below Montgomery, on the Alabama River. This was the farthest point reached by the expedition.

January 11.—Return to Mobile.

Bienville to Pontchartrain, September 6, 1704, AC, C 13A, 1:449-456, translated by D. Rowland and A. G. Sanders in *Mississippi Provincial Archives 1704-1743, French Dominion*, Jackson, Miss., 1932, 19-22. Cf. Pénicaut's Relation, Margry, V, 429-431. The dates are in La Harpe, *Journal historique*, 82-83.

September 4.—Death of Tonti at Fort Louis de la Louisiane.

Revue generale des officiers . . . avec ce qui leur sera deub pour leur appointemens et solde des services qu'ils ont rendu pendant l'année 1704. AC, F 1, 11:218.

Mort de maladie  
le 4 sept. 1704.

Le S<sup>r</sup> Chevalier de Tonty  
commandant les Canadiens  
a 50<sup>11</sup> par mois

405<sup>11</sup> 13<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup>

There can be no doubt about the day of the month, for 50 livres per month means a daily pay of 1 livre 13 sols 4 deniers, hence 5 livres 13 sols 4 deniers for four days. Until this pay roll was found the exact date of his death was not known. After the publication, in 1831, of La Harpe's *Journal historique*, it was known merely that Tonti had died in September 1704. In 1887, Margry, V, 368, published eight lines from Bienville's letter of September 6, 1704, the last four of which are as follows: "Depuis le 6 September, date de la lettre, il est mort deux officiers au Fort-Louis, à savoir: MM. Levasseur et Tonty, lieutenant d'infanterie et officier canadien. Tonty avoit accompagné Bienville dans l'expédition contre les Alibamons." From this text, Murphy, *Henry de Tonty*, 85, inferred that Tonti died shortly after September 6. A reviewer of Murphy's book objected to this date on the ground that Bienville's letter, cited as evidence, was itself dated September 6, 1704, and therefore that Tonti's death must have occurred previously. But as I observed elsewhere, *MID-AMERICA*, XXIV, 1942, 141, Bienville's mention of Tonti's death occurs not in the letter itself but in the postscript, and the wording of this postscript, which was written after the date of the letter does not warrant any other conclusion than that of Murphy. On the other hand, since the date found in the pay roll is quite certain, there must be some explanation for these conflicting statements. We first note that this letter is a copy and that the only autograph parts of it are the signature and the postscript; secondly, that the letter is dated by the copyist at the foot of the last page but

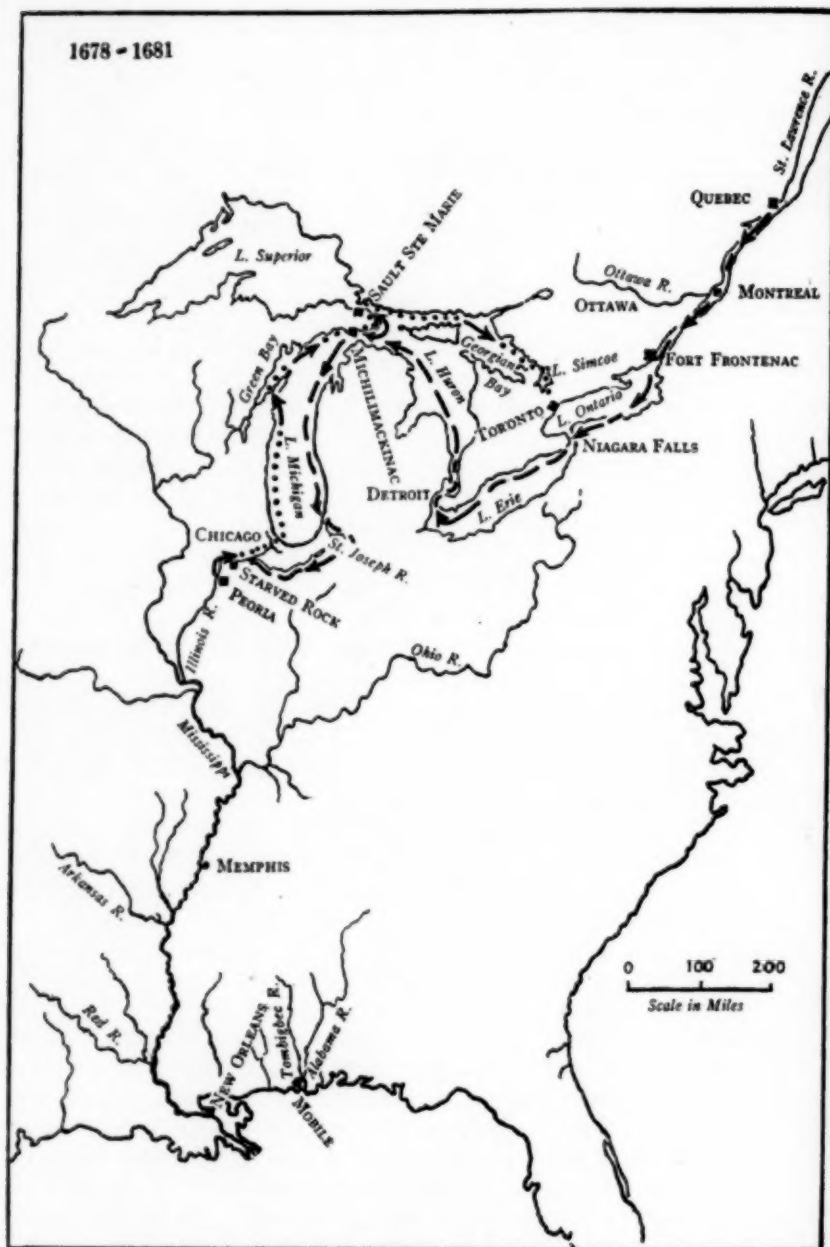
one. Hence we must conclude that Bienville's draft was written before the death of Tonti. When re-reading it on September 6, after it had been transcribed by the copyist, he noticed before signing it that he had not mentioned the death of Levasseur and Tonti, and so he added on the last page: "Depuis que jay Eû l'honneur de vous escrire cette presante lettre il m'est Mort deux officiers qui sont Mess<sup>rs</sup> Levasseur et de Tonty Lieutenant d'infanterie et officier Canadien."

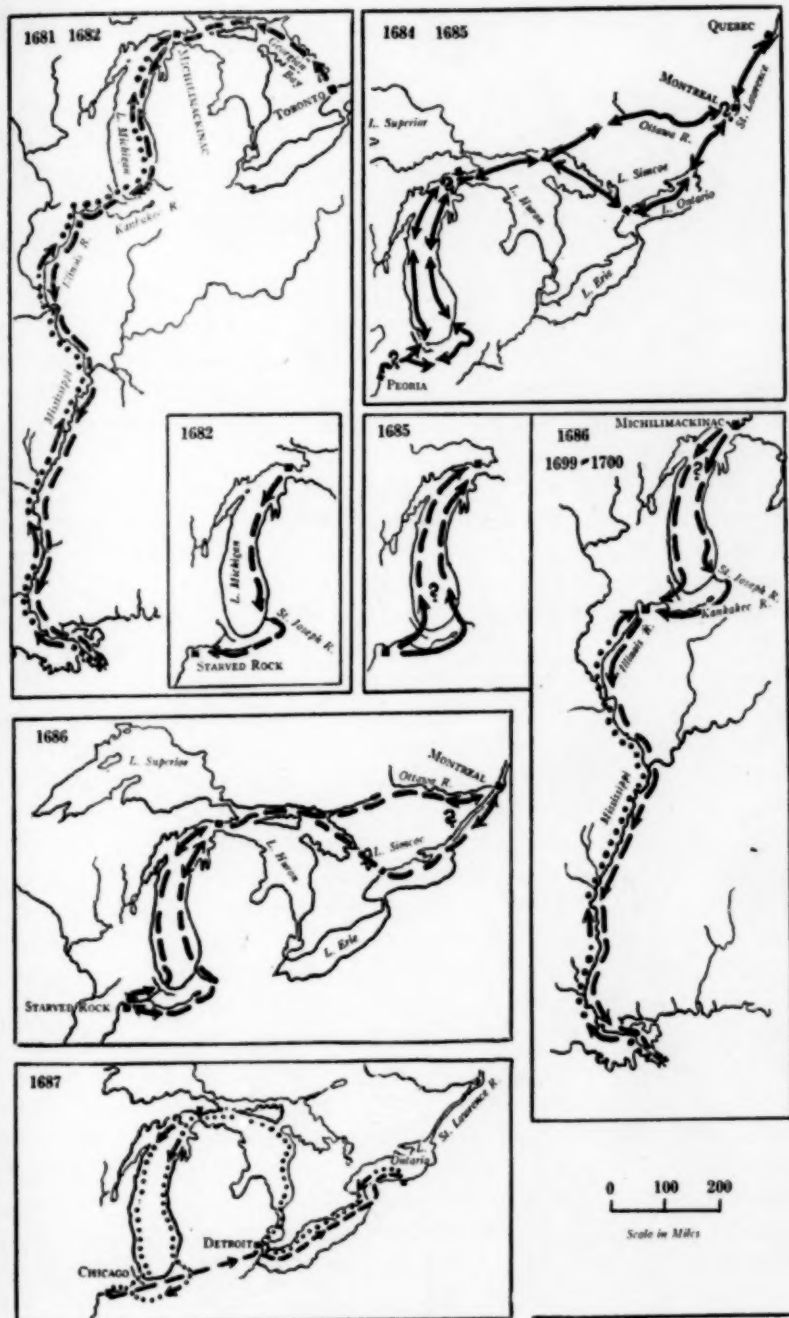
Another point is the "maladie" of which Tonti died. "Dans le mois de Septembre [1704] les maladies furent considérables. M. Ducoudray-Guimont [the captain of the *Pélican*] perdit la moitié de son équipage . . . MM. de Tonty et Le Vasseur . . . moururent pendant ce mois." La Harpe, *Journal historique*, 85. In a 1706 petition to the minister by Tonti's brother in France, only an extract from it is extant, the following item occurs: "Demande une lieutenance ou une enseigne pour de Liet son cousin qui commande aux Islinois en l'absence du Chevalier de Tonty mort de la peste au Mississipi, dont il a fait la decouverte avec feu M. de la Salle." AC, C 11A, 120:105. In his letter of September 6 mentioned above, Bienville wrote that the *Pélican* "Nous a apporté la Peste qu'il avoit attrapé a la Havanne." Since the word "peste" was the popular name given to the "mal de Siam," Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique, 8:82-82v, which was another name for yellow fever, it seems probable that Tonti died of this disease.

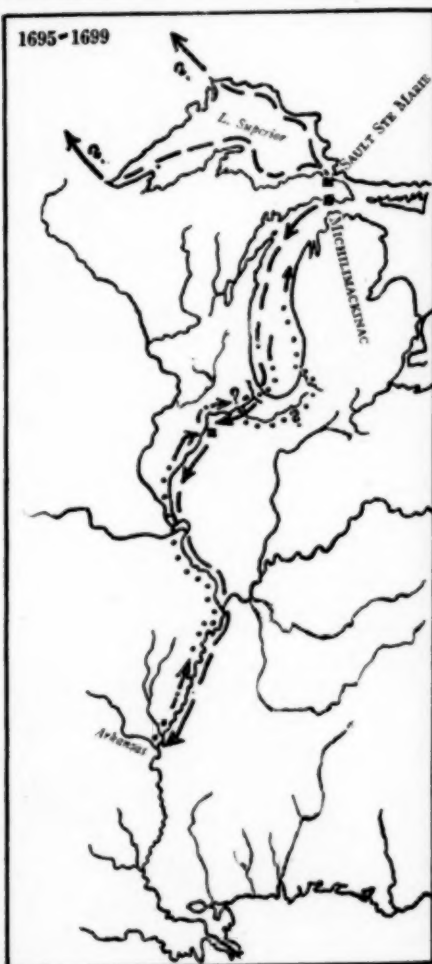
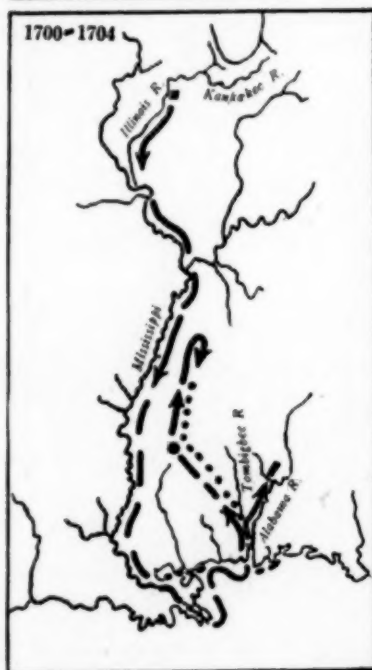
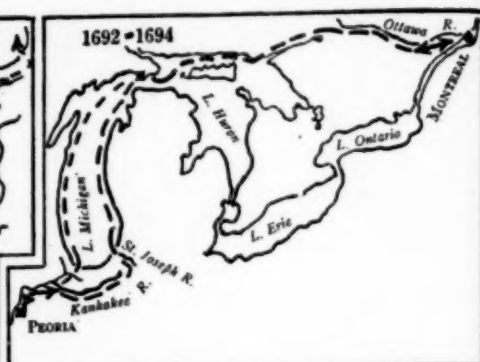
"But the Pelican had touched at St. Domingo and brought also the yellow fever . . . Henri de Tonty died in that September of 1704. The site of the cemetery has been lost, but we may imagine it in the woods behind the little town. There in an unknown grave near the Mobile River, they laid the remains of Tonty, one of America's great men. . . ." P. J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, New York, 1910<sup>2</sup>, 69.

JEAN DELANGLEZ









## DOCUMENT

### The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi

Shortly after his return to Quebec in the latter part of July 1674, Louis Jolliet was interviewed by Father Dablon, who on August 1, set down in writing what he had learned from the explorer. The original is lost, but several copies of it are extant; one of the hitherto unpublished copies which was made in Paris in 1675 is printed below. It is here published because this account is one of the five basic sources for our knowledge of the expedition of 1673. The other sources are, first, Marquette's map; secondly, copies of a map which Jolliet drew from memory after his return to Quebec; thirdly, two copies of the dedicatory letter which he inscribed on this map; and finally, a copy of a letter which he wrote to Laval, October 10, 1674.

The volume in which the document here printed is found is made up of six manuscripts of which this account of the discovery of the Mississippi is the second. This account covers four full pages and three lines of a fifth. The title of the whole second manuscript reads: Relation // De ce qui s'est passé dans les Missions // Des Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus // En la nouvelle France // L'annee 1673 // Enuoyée par le RP. Claude D'Ablon // Superieur des dites Missions // Au R. P. Jean Pinette // Prouincial de la meme Comp<sup>e</sup>. // En la Province de France. // <sup>1</sup> We shall inquire into the reasons why a document dated August 1, 1674, is found at the beginning of the Relation of 1672-1673.

The surmises of those who have written about this celebrated voyage of Jolliet could have been dispensed with if these manuscripts had been examined without preconceived ideas, and if a few facts of which we are certain had been kept in mind. The Relation of 1672-1673 had already been composed by Dablon, when he was notified, in the summer of 1673, that the publication of the *Relations de la Nouvelle-France* would be discontinued. As we shall see, there are reasons for believing that the

<sup>1</sup> Jesuit Archives of the Province of France, Fonds Brotier, 155, Canada I, 1-5.

manuscript of this Relation was not sent to Paris that same year. One thing is certain: it is not found today in the Jesuit Archives of the Province of France or in the Jesuit Archives in Rome. Of itself this does not necessarily mean that the Relation of 1672-1673 was not sent to France at that time, considering how the Jesuit Archives in that country were subsequently looted and pillaged by the so-called apostles of enlightenment. We are also certain that a copy was kept at Quebec, and that in the following year, 1674, Dablon sent to his Provincial, Jean Pinette, the revised Relation of 1672-1673, shortened in some places, lengthened in others, and that he prefaced it with the account of the discovery of the Mississippi as reported to him by Jolliet.

The above, as well as what we shall have to say about the Relation of 1672-1673, could have been made known by the editors who published these manuscripts in the nineteenth century. But although these good men had the best intentions, their ideas about editing texts now appear very strange. In those days, editors quite generally felt at liberty to tamper with the texts in various ways. The classic example in this country is the editing of Washington's writings for publication by Jared Sparks. This editor apparently took the view that it would be an impropriety to allow Washington's spelling lapses to be made public. Among the extenuating circumstances for the editors of the manuscript *Relations de la Nouvelle-France*, is their purpose in publishing them. They intended them for the general reader, and were not concerned with issuing a critical edition, although in the long run a critical edition would have been more useful. All today admit that it is permissible to reproduce a text in modern garb, provided the sense of the original be not impaired in the process. All agree likewise, that it is permissible to amend and modernize the text by ridding it of verbal oddities and solecisms, which would only distract or perplex the ordinary reader, or perhaps even deter him altogether from its perusal. But the nineteenth-century editors of the manuscript *Relations* went much farther, and created many difficulties for those who wished to use the text they published.

Thwaites voices his dissatisfaction with "the bibliography of Marquette's voyages,"<sup>2</sup> especially with the bibliography of the voyage down the Mississippi in 1673. He would have been able to solve most of his difficulties if either he or Father Jones had

<sup>2</sup> R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 volumes, Cleveland, 1896-1901, hereinafter quoted as JR, 59:294.



secured the manuscripts themselves, instead of relying on the *Relations inédites* published in 1861, and on the bibliographical notes which accompany this edition.<sup>3</sup> "The two volumes edited by Father Felix Martin, and known as *Relations inédites* . . . form vols. iii and iv of the collection published by Charles Douniol. . . ."<sup>4</sup> This is not quite correct. Father Martin wrote a study on the Relations which he sent to Father Daniel, then editor of the *Études*, a review published in Paris by the French Jesuits. This study appears as the introduction and the appendix of the *Relations inédites*. Father Martin also communicated to the editors copies of some of the manuscripts which had been preserved by the nuns of the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec, and which they had handed over to him in 1844. All the bibliographical notes and the footnotes are by the French editor, Father Fortuné M. de Montézon.<sup>5</sup> There is no connection between these *Relations inédites* and the two volumes on the missions of Cayenne and of Cochinchina, published at Paris in 1857, the first by Lanier, the second by Douniol; and so it is inaccurate to refer to the *Relations inédites* as the third and fourth volumes of the Douniol Collection.

Speaking of the Relation of 1672-1673, Thwaites says that, according to the title-page, it is

credited to Dablon, then the Quebec Superior of his order. But the first draft was from the hand of Jean de Lamberville; Dablon edited it with much freedom, and sent a perfected copy to Europe, retaining the original MS., which is now conserved in the Archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal.<sup>6</sup>

Thwaites published the entire manuscript of this Relation;

<sup>3</sup> *Relations inédites de la Nouvelle-France (1672-1679) pour faire suite aux anciennes Relations (1615-1672)*, 2 volumes, Paris, 1861.

<sup>4</sup> JR, 57:311.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. P. Desjardins, *Le Collège Sainte-Marie de Montréal*, "Le Fondateur [Father Felix Martin]," Montreal, 1940, 216-217, 228-236. From what Father Desjardins says, *ibid.*, 237, and from what Father Martin himself wrote in 1885, it is clear that, in 1858, he did not bring to Paris the "Roman manuscripts" mentioned in the *Relations inédites*. "J'ai eu entre les mains [in Rome] les deux gros cahiers où on avait entassé ce qui regarde le Canada et c'est de là que j'ai extrait tout ce que j'ai copié." Desjardins, *op. cit.*, 238. During his short sojourn in Rome, Martin copied twenty-seven letters dated from 1611 to 1669. The "Roman manuscripts" had been sent from Rome to Paris in 1845.—"On peut dire sans se tromper que toutes les notes ajoutées aux deux volumes des Relations [inédites] sont dues aux éditeurs de Paris." Martin to Vignon, in Desjardins, *op. cit.*, 248. Even if we had not this formal statement of Father Martin, it is apparent that these notes were written by one who had never been in Canada, and whose acquaintance with the history of seventeenth-century New France was very sketchy.

<sup>6</sup> JR, 57:307.

namely, Lamberville's draft, and all of Dablon's corrections, additions, and excisions. He printed in Roman type the Lamberville text, as retained by Dablon, and also any matter substituted or added by Dablon himself. These corrections he enclosed in brackets, and printed in italics the matter stricken out by Dablon.

What led Thwaites to write that "the first draft was from the hand of Jean de Lamberville" is a note in the upper right-hand corner of the first page: "Écriture du P. Jean de Lamberville f[élix] M[artin]." Now this manuscript is in the hand of a copyist, who cannot be identified as one of the Jesuit priests then in Quebec, it is certainly not in the handwriting of Lamberville, but probably in that of a Jesuit lay-brother. To say that the *Relation* is "credited" to Dablon is rather misleading, for there can be no doubt that Dablon is actually its author. One of the duties of the superior of the Jesuit missions in New France was to write the annual relations. In 1673, that superior was Dablon, and no one who has any knowledge of his character will believe that he entrusted the composition of the annual report to any of his subordinates.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the "Lamberville draft" bears Dablon's editorial touch; expressions are found at every turn that are unmistakably his, and there are numerous stylistic indications which show just as clearly that the *Relation* of 1672-1673 was not originally composed by Lamberville and later corrected by Dablon. Finally, we know that Jean de Lamberville was among the Onondaga in 1673, and that he remained among these Indians until 1678, the year of his return to France.

Since there is no doubt that the corrections, additions, or excisions are in the hand of Dablon, whose handwriting is as individual as his style, we shall inquire why and when the changes were made. We have already noted that in his publication of the *Relation* of 1672-1673, Thwaites made use of typographical devices which enable the reader to see at one glance what portions were written in 1673—the so-called "Lamberville draft"—and what corrections Dablon made. "This manner of presentation," says Thwaites, "(which we have not found possible with any other *Relation*) gives an interesting and unique example of the methods of editing employed by the father superior, and incidentally throws much light on the mental attitude of the missionaries."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Cf. "Claude Dablon, S. J. (1619-1697)," *MID-AMERICA*, XXVI, 1944, 92 ff.

<sup>8</sup> JR, 57:308.

I must confess that I do not see the force of this last remark. The "methods of editing employed by the father superior" can hardly be called "unique" for it is difficult to see how he could have used any other methods under the circumstances. Dablon had the Relation which he had written in 1673, and had also written that of 1673-1674,<sup>9</sup> he had at his disposal information about events that had taken place in the missions during the past two years, instead of merely one year; and combined the two Relations into one. In doing so, he naturally had to recast what he had written for the year 1672-1673, besides making many verbal or stylistic changes. Of this revision, which is dated 1672-1673, he had at least two copies made, one of which was sent to Paris in 1674, and the other kept in Quebec. The latter copy differs from the copy sent to Paris because it contains further changes made by Dablon between 1674 and 1678.<sup>10</sup> Hence the "methods of editing" mentioned by Thwaites simply amount to a normal revision by the author of the Relation of 1672-1673 in view of fresh information received in 1674.

Thwaites then goes on to say: "There are known to exist three MSS of this [1672-1673] *Relation*: (1) The original, in the Archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal—which is Lamberville's text with Dablon's emendations."<sup>11</sup> Rather, as we have seen, this manuscript is a copy in an unknown hand of the text of Dablon, the true author of the Relation of 1672-1673, with his own corrections, most of which were added the following year. "... (2) 'detached duplicates' of the same with slight variations . . . which is Lamberville's text, not corrected by Dablon."

<sup>9</sup> The Relation of 1673-1674 was kept at Quebec and sent to France after 1675.

<sup>10</sup> "La priere a esté accreditée parmy eux—the Kishkakon—plus que Jamais. Le nombre des baptisez a esté de plus de cent ames, entre Lesquelles il y a eu plusieurs adultes, enfin [Le nombre des baptisés a esté de plus de Cent ames Cette année 1673 aux années suivantes, Il a esté encor plus grand, et au dernier hyuernment que le Pere Druillettes a fait avec les sauvages du Sault et en descendant icy bas, Il a baptisé Luy seul Jusqu'a 84 personnes] plusieurs iongleurs touchez de Dieu ont renoncé a leurs superstitions dont ils ont déclaré publiquement La vanité et L'inutilité, temoignant au contraire La force de la priere, dont ils auoient veu et expérimenté les effets fauorables." JR, 57:232-234. The winter of 1677-1678 is the last one which Druillettes spent in the West. In the catalogue made in Quebec in October 1678, his name is followed by these words: "linguae algonq[ui]nae precept[or] et dictionn[ari]o ultimam manum imponit."

<sup>11</sup> In 1861, Shea published in his Cramoisy series, no. 13, the *Relation . . . les années 1672 et 1673 Par le R. P. Claude Dablon . . . A la Nouvelle York . . . M. D. CCC. LXI*. This is what Thwaites calls the "Lamberville draft," scil., the original Relation written by Dablon. Shea modernized the spelling, punctuated the text, and unified the copyist's haphazard capitalization.

This shows that several copies of this Relation were kept in Quebec, and it is therefore likely that no copy was sent to France in 1673. " . . . (3) One [copy] in the domestic archives of the Society formerly at the Gesù, in Rome. Of this last Father Martin says, in his introduction to Douniol's *Relations inédites*, that it accords with the one in Montreal, 'save some slight modification which concern the style, and some curtailments of little importance.'"<sup>12</sup> What is here attributed to Father Martin was actually written by Father de Montézon who goes on to say: "We made use of it [the Roman copy] in more than one passage to correct the Canadian [i. e., the so-called 'Lamberville draft'] manuscript, because the copy sent to Rome, which seems to have been made last, is in general more carefully made and more concise, and it has all the authority of the original manuscript."<sup>13</sup>

In the summer of 1939, the present writer asked for a photograph of the copy of the account of the discovery of the Mississippi contained in the Archives of the Province of France. These archives were then at St. Helier, on the Island of Jersey. As was said above, the last three lines of this account appear on the fifth page of the manuscript, and the rest of this page contains the beginning of Dablon's 1674 revision of the Relation of 1672-1673. This explains why the account itself, dated August 1, 1674, is found prefaced to a Relation of the year before. On comparing this first page of the Relation of 1672-1673 with the two variants of this same text as published by Thwaites, and with the corresponding text published by De Montézon, I was able to notice the following facts.

De Montézon's text in the *Relations inédites* is a hodgepodge of Dablon's 1673 original, and of the Roman manuscript, both being recast by De Montézon with interpolations, explanations, and additions. Although De Montézon knew of Dablon's 1674 revision of his original draft, he apparently did not realize the close dependence of the Roman manuscript on that revision. This dependence became obvious when I compared the first page of the Roman manuscript Relation, as found in the Jersey document, with Dablon's 1674 revision as published by Thwaites. It is true that three whole paragraphs of the 1674 revision, to say nothing of a few other unimportant details, are omitted in that first page of the Roman manuscript. But with this exception, the Roman manuscript is almost word for word identical with the 1674 text.

<sup>12</sup> JR, 57:308.

<sup>13</sup> *Relations inédites*, I, 2.



These bibliographical details were unknown to Thwaites; which is the reason why he wrote that "two widely-different versions" of the Relation of 1672-1673 appeared in print in 1861. The versions to which he refers are Shea's edition of the text as written by Dablon in 1673, and De Montézon's combination of that text and of the "Roman manuscript."<sup>14</sup> In the light of what we have said, the second cannot be called simply a "different version" of the 1673 text. Rochemonteix commented as follows on the *Relations inédites* published by Douniol: "It is regrettable that on [scl., De Montézon] took the liberty of retouching the style of the original manuscript and that the official relations sent to Rome were not printed as they were without making any changes."<sup>15</sup> Rochemonteix thought that both Fathers Martin and De Montézon edited the text, whereas the latter alone is responsible for the changes; and, we may add, Rochemonteix' general strictures of the *Relations inédites* are the rewording of a note by Father Tailhan on the flyleaf of the bound manuscript where Tailhan criticizes De Montézon's edition of the account of the discovery of the Mississippi.<sup>16</sup>

As we noted above, in the first page of the Jersey manuscript, besides minor excisions, three paragraphs are omitted which appear in the revised 1674 text. Hence the following questions arise. Did Dablon himself omit these paragraphs from the Relation of 1672-1673 before sending it to France in 1674, or are the omissions attributable to the French editor? If the omissions were made by Dablon himself, then the French copyist of his text merely transcribed it and forwarded it to Rome. If on the other hand Dablon's text was "edited" in France before being given to the copyist, we are confronted with a further problem. Since the account of Jolliet's voyage is found in the same manuscript as Dablon's Relation, and was copied by the same copyist, how can we know whether the Paris "editor" of this text did not also alter the account of the discovery of the Mississippi, which Dablon wrote after interviewing Jolliet? It is impossible to settle this question by comparing the pages of the Jersey manuscript which contain the account of this discovery with some Canadian counterpart, because neither the original of this account nor a copy thereof were among the papers in Canada handed over to Father Martin in 1844.

<sup>14</sup> JR, 57:309.

<sup>15</sup> C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 3 volumes, Paris, 1895-1896, I, xxvii, note 3.

<sup>16</sup> The note is in H. Cordier, *Mélanges Américains*, Paris, 1913, 63.



I believe, however, that, except for a few mistakes by the copyist, the text of this account as published below is the same as that which Dablon sent to France in 1674. After being copied in Paris in 1675, it was sent to Rome, and thence brought back to Paris in the middle of last century. This belief is a conclusion based on the following facts. First, a copy of Dablon's account of the discovery of the Mississippi,<sup>17</sup> which we know was made in Quebec, is the same as the account given in the Jersey manuscript, except for one paragraph which is slightly recast. We know that this copy was made in Quebec from its having been used as the basis of an abridged account written in Quebec and further modified by someone in Paris.<sup>18</sup> Secondly, the unabridged account itself is relatively short—four pages—so that the Paris "editor" would have had no need to shorten it further. Moreover, the man to whom Dablon's manuscript was entrusted in Paris was very probably Father Paul Ragueneau.<sup>19</sup> During the twenty-six years which he had spent in Canada, Father Ragueneau had often heard of the great river of the west; he must have realized the importance of its discovery, and one would hardly expect him to eliminate any passage from this manuscript before having it copied for the archives in Rome.

I know of five extant copies of the original of this document which may be divided into two groups. The first group comprises three manuscripts; the second group two, and these differ from the manuscripts of the first group in one important respect. At the beginning of the manuscripts of this group, and again at the end by way of a clausula, we find in a somewhat recast form the first and second parts, respectively, of a paragraph which occurs in the middle of the document in the first group of manuscripts.

At the outbreak of World War II, the first of these five copies was in the Jesuit Archives of the Province of France. It is this copy which is published below and which has already been described.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 312, n. 30, the Archives du Service Hydrographique (ASH) manuscript.

<sup>18</sup> "Relation de la nouvelle France, 1673," BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:176-177v.

<sup>19</sup> The letter of Dablon of October 25, 1674, to Father Jean Pinette, which contains a brief résumé of his account of Jolliet's voyage, was translated from French into Latin by Father Ragueneau in view of communicating it to the General in Rome, Jesuit Archives of the Province of France, Fonds Brotier, 157, Canada 3. The French text, in an unidentified handwriting, and the Latin translation, in the handwriting of Father Ragueneau, serve as an introduction to the Relation of 1674.

The second copy was in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.<sup>20</sup> It is endorsed "A Mon R. Pere de Moisne de la Comp[agnie] de Jesus. A Reims." The manuscript is in bad condition, and the lower right-hand corner of the first page is torn off. The name of the addressee suggests that it was sent to Rheims by a fellow Jesuit in Paris. From textual criticism, we can see that, like the Jersey manuscript, it was made on the lost archetype sent to France by Dablon in 1674. Except for a few variants, it reproduces this archetype more faithfully than the next three manuscripts.

The third copy of Dablon's narrative was in the Archives of the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice, Paris, and it is followed by a letter of Jolliet dated Quebec, October 10, 1674.<sup>21</sup> Speaking of this letter, Harrissee wrote: "This document mentioned by the Abbé Faillon, . . . is all in the hand of Jolliet and follows on the same page the relation of the discovery of the 'Sea of the South,' sent by Father Dablon from Quebec August 1. This relation is also in the handwriting of Jolliet."<sup>22</sup> Harrissee had previously declared that the letter was addressed to Frontenac.<sup>23</sup> As a matter of fact, he was mistaken on both counts: there is no reason at all for thinking that the addressee was Frontenac,<sup>24</sup> and the document is certainly not in Jolliet's handwriting.

Jolliet would hardly have written a letter to Frontenac on October 10, 1674, for he himself had been in Quebec since the end of July of that year, and there is positive evidence that the governor had been in the same small town since August 20.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, Jolliet had already reported to Frontenac in person, and his map with a dedicatory letter was certainly in Frontenac's hands in mid-October. Gagnon is more correct when he says that the letter of October 10 was "probably addressed to Monseigneur de Laval who was then in France."<sup>26</sup> This bishop had helped Jolliet materially at the beginning of his career as an explorer; and Jolliet would naturally have sent his benefactor news of his

<sup>20</sup> BN, Moreau, 842:31-32v.

<sup>21</sup> A photograph of the whole document is in the E. E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

<sup>22</sup> H. Harrissee, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire . . . de la Nouvelle-France . . . 1545-1700*, Paris, 1872, 323.

<sup>23</sup> *Id.*, *ibid.*, 143.

<sup>24</sup> Faillon says that the letter was "probably" addressed to Frontenac. *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, 3 volumes, Villemarie, 1865-1866, III, 314.

<sup>25</sup> *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France, 1663-1710*, 6 volumes, Quebec, 1885-1891, I, 816.

<sup>26</sup> E. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet, découvreur du Mississipi et du pays des Illinois, premier seigneur d'Anticosti*, Montreal, 1913, 73.

discovery of the great river of the west. Neither the opening title of "my Lord" nor the clausula at the end of the letter—an identical clausula is found in an autograph letter of Jolliet's addressed to Seignelay,<sup>27</sup> who was at the time minister of the colonies—suffices to identify the addressee as a bishop. But Jolliet's mention of the Blessed Virgin, and his modified quotation of the first verse of Psalm 13, taken together with the opening title strongly support Gagnon's identification.

As for the handwriting of the whole document, narrative and letter, it is not Jolliet's. This erroneous identification was made by Faillon and not by Harris. A comparison between Harris's printed version and the text of the manuscript makes it apparent that Harris himself did not examine the document, but made use of an inferior copy. Thus in Harris's text, there are changes in capitalization, in spelling, in accentuation, in paragraphing; three words in a line of four are omitted, and one word is substituted for another. In view of the meticulous accuracy which is characteristic of Harris's reproductions, we may be sure that he did not have access to the original document when publishing his text. As for the handwriting, anyone who compares this manuscript with identified specimens of Jolliet's script can see at once that this manuscript was not written by Jolliet. It is very likely that Faillon had not then at his disposal samples of Jolliet's handwriting; moreover, as far as he was concerned the question of identifying the writer was unimportant. Considering, however, the theory based on Faillon's erroneous identification, it is important to show that the latter was mistaken.

There are many indications that the whole document, *i. e.*, the narrative and the letter, is merely a copy of the lost originals. The copyist's mark " ./." for instance, is found at the end of every paragraph. Even if it were wrongly supposed that the handwriting throughout is that of Jolliet, and that consequently the letter is his own original work and the rest is his copy of the narrative, this mark would show that the letter too is a copy, for the mark appears after every paragraph of the letter.

Moreover, the account contains several mistakes which Jolliet would almost certainly not have made. To say nothing of two transpositions and of the reading "doigts" for "pieds," which might be due to mere inadvertence, Jolliet could scarcely have written "Petun noir," *i. e.*, black tobacco, for "Petunoir," *i. e.*,

<sup>27</sup> Jolliet to Seignelay, November 10, 1685, AC, C 11E, 13:135-136.

pipe; nor would he have said that the great river "est a 500 lieues d'icy Oitaouax," especially since other manuscripts made by copyists who undoubtedly knew far less than he did about the geography of this region contain the correct statement about the location of the Mississippi as being "a 500 lieues d'icy au dela des Outaouiax."

Finally, there is the important fact that Jolliet's name is spelled wrongly whenever it occurs in this manuscript. In the three which I personally examined, besides the Saint-Sulpice manuscript, his name is spelled in two different ways, as the following table shows. In the Saint-Sulpice it is spelled the same throughout.

<i>Saint-Sulpice</i>	<i>Jersey</i>	<i>BN, Moreau</i>	<i>ASH</i>
Joliet	Jolliet	Joliet	Jolliet
Joliet	Joliet	Joliet	Jollyet
Joliet	Joliet	Jolliet	Jollyet
Joliet	Joliet	Joliet	Jollyet
Joliet	Joliet	Joliet	Jollyet

Now, in every known example of Jolliet's autograph, his name has always two "l's," and never just one as in the Saint-Sulpice manuscript. From the fact that the dedicatory letter to Frontenac on the so-called Jolliet map is not in Jolliet's handwriting, and the fact that his signature to this letter contains only one "l" Father Steck concluded that "on his first map Jolliet did not inscribe the letter himself, but had some one do it for him."<sup>28</sup> It is precisely these facts, namely, the difference in handwriting and the single "l" in Jolliet's name, which justify our conclusion that the Saint-Sulpice document is not a Jolliet autograph. To defend it as an autograph by saying that "here and throughout the copy Jolliet spells his name as Dablon wrote it—with one l,"<sup>29</sup> is most unconvincing. A man seeing his name misspelled in a document which he copies will automatically correct the misspelling. Moreover, how can Father Steck, or any one else know how Dablon spelled Jolliet's name? The original as Dablon wrote it is not longer extant, nor, for that matter is the archetype sent to France in existence; and the table of variants given above

<sup>28</sup> F. B. Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*, Quincy, Illinois, 1928, 173, note 98. It should be observed that the "second or revised map" mentioned by Father Steck in this note was not made by Jolliet, any more than the first for that matter. The map which he drew from memory after his return to Quebec is lost, all that remains are copies based on this lost map.

<sup>29</sup> *Id.*, *ibid.*, 174, note 101.



makes it clear that it is impossible to determine how Jolliet's name was written either by Dablon or by the copyist.

Furthermore, if the account of the discovery of the Mississippi in the Saint-Sulpice document is a Jolliet autograph, why did Jolliet leave out the several lines, found in every manuscript, which describe the route to be followed by water from Niagara Falls to the Des Plaines River, where mention is also made of the canal to be built at Chicago connecting the St. Lawrence with the Mississippi basin? This was an original Jolliet idea, which was ridiculed by La Salle a few years later. Again, if this document is a Jolliet autograph, why is it that in the letter itself, which begins at the bottom of the twelfth page of the manuscript, no reference is made to the preceding account which Jolliet supposedly wrote and sent along with this letter? Finally, if Jolliet wrote both the letter and the account itself, how is one to explain his failure to correct apparently divergent statements in these two documents?

Of course, the real proof that Jolliet did not write the Saint-Sulpice document is the handwriting, which is in no way similar to this. The other arguments are merely confirmatory. We can reconstruct to a certain extent what actually took place. Someone at the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice or connected with that institution, probably obtained a copy of Dablon's narrative—there were several copies in Paris at the time—and also secured a copy of Jolliet's letter to Laval, and then transcribed both.

The two manuscripts of the second group are in the Archives du Service Hydrographique<sup>30</sup> and in the Bibliothèque Nationale,<sup>31</sup> respectively. I have not examined the latter, but from what Leland says,<sup>32</sup> and from the variants noted by Father Steck,<sup>33</sup> the latter document is a copy of that in the Archives du Service Hydrographique. As we have already noted, the text of both these manuscripts is slightly different from the text of the first group.

A brief consideration of this different version is in place here, because it is one of the many arguments which dispose of a theory fathered by Lorin.<sup>34</sup> According to him, the Jesuits did everything in their power to keep from Frontenac, "who cer-

<sup>30</sup> ASH, 5: no. 16.

<sup>31</sup> BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7491:351-355.

<sup>32</sup> W. G. Leland, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, Vol. I, *Libraries*, Washington, D. C., 1932, 98.

<sup>33</sup> Steck, *op. cit.*, 174, notes 100 and ff.

<sup>34</sup> H. Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac*, Paris, 1895, 77, 93, 99.



tainly would have blamed" them had he known that Marquette had accompanied Jolliet. By way of parenthesis we may add that since Lorin published his doctoral thesis, many others like him, both in this country and in France, have been more concerned with would-be profound explanations, and with idle or absurd speculations, than with establishing the facts on valid evidence. As for Lorin's masterful knowledge of his subject, anyone acquainted with Jolliet's career between 1669 and 1674 should be highly entertained by Lorin's account of it.<sup>35</sup>

A study of the genesis of the ASH manuscript indicates that far from being ignorant of Marquette's part in the expedition of 1673, the governor of New France was well aware of it. On November 14, 1674, Frontenac wrote to Colbert as follows: "I am sending by my secretary the map which he [Jolliet] made as well as the details which he was able to recall, for he lost all his memoirs and his journal in the shipwreck [which occurred in sight of Montreal . . .]"<sup>36</sup> The original Jolliet map spoken of by Frontenac is lost. With regard to the "details" spoken of by the governor, he can hardly be referring to the dedicatory letter which was inscribed on the map, for in this letter Jolliet makes no mention of the Chicago canal, although in Frontenac's letter to Colbert such an undertaking is implied. From La Salle's criticism of it,<sup>37</sup> we know that Jolliet had made much of this project. We also know that La Salle went to France with Barrois, Frontenac's secretary, in 1674.<sup>38</sup> Hence the source of Frontenac's knowledge of this canal must be Jolliet's own verbal report to him or some document accessible to Barrois, his secretary.

Again, the already mentioned abridgment of the account of the discovery of the Mississippi is a compilation containing information derived from Dablon's narrative and from the letter inscribed on the map.<sup>39</sup> An analysis of this compilation shows that its writer did not use Dablon's version but either the ASH document itself or a copy thereof. Now, the Archives du Service Hydrographique is the official depository for narratives of voyages sent from the colonies to the government in Paris, and narratives of Jolliet's voyages to Hudson Bay and to the Labra-

<sup>35</sup> *Id.*, *ibid.*, the whole of Chapter III.

<sup>36</sup> Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1926-1927* (RAPQ), Quebec, 1927, 77.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. P. Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 volumes, Paris, 1876-1888, II, 79, 81, 82, 166-168.

<sup>38</sup> Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 78.

<sup>39</sup> *Supra*, note 18, printed in Margry, I, 259-262.

dor Coast are kept in the same *carton* with the ASH document. The extant abridgment of the account of Jolliet's voyage to Hudson Bay was published last July in this review.

From these facts, as well as from a passage in the ASH document itself, we conclude that this document was written in Quebec, and that the information it contains includes the "details" mentioned by Frontenac in his letter to Colbert. The corollary of this conclusion is that shortly after the return of Jolliet, Frontenac must have known that Marquette had taken part in the expedition of 1673; for the name of the missionary appears in the second paragraph of Dablon's narrative, and, owing to the different arrangement of the ASH copy of this narrative, Marquette's name is mentioned twice in the second paragraph. As we said above, this is only one of the arguments proving that Frontenac knew all along that a Jesuit had gone with Jolliet.

On the flyleaf of ASH there is an interesting note which deserves a word of comment. The note was written by some unidentified employee of this archival depository—probably in the eighteenth century—and resembles similar notes found on other documents in the same *carton*.

This memoir, short as it is, is interesting because it gives in brief what is found in a detailed narrative of La Salle's voyage, *pièce* no. 5 of this portfolio.<sup>40</sup>

By comparing the dates of these two documents, one can see from this one, dated 1673, that Jolliet had traveled over the country, had already seen, examined, and discovered everything that La Salle also saw and recognized in 1679, 1680, 1681. To give a detailed account was impossible, because the journal of Jolliet was lost in a shipwreck; hence one may suspect that La Salle wanted to get the credit for having discovered that which he knew Jolliet had seen and taken possession of.

That in 1673, Jolliet had gone farther into the interior than La Salle did in 1681 is obvious, for the former went almost to the mouth of the Arkansas River, while the farthest point reached by La Salle in 1681 was the mouth of the Illinois River. That La Salle wished to rob Jolliet of the priority of discovery is a quite unfounded suspicion, and there is no proof that Jolliet

<sup>40</sup> This narrative is the "Relation des découvertes," printed in Margry, I, 435-544. The manuscript, now in ASH, 64: no. 4, was at one time in the same portfolio as the narrative of the discovery of the Mississippi. On the drafts of the "Relation des découvertes," cf. J. Delanglez, "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels, 1643-1683," *MID-AMERICA*, XXII, 1940, 283-284; the document is discussed in *id.*, *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, Chicago, 1941, 55-64.

took possession of the Mississippi basin in 1673,<sup>41</sup> any more than there is proof that La Salle took possession of anything before March 13 and 14, 1682, at the Arkansas, and April 9, 1682, near the mouth of the Mississippi.

When Margry saw this note on the flyleaf of the ASH document he wrote immediately below it: "The one who wrote this note had doubtless no knowledge of the memoirs of Talon and of the Count de Frontenac, or even of the map of Jolliet, all of which speak of the voyages of Cavelier de la Salle [as having taken place] before that of Jolliet." Although it is not specifically stated here, from his reference to the map of Jolliet, Margry is claiming priority of the discovery of the Mississippi for La Salle. This claim is unsupported by the very evidence which he cites. The "memoirs of Talon" speak of some journey of La Salle which did not take farther than the Iroquois country. The "memoirs of the Count de Frontenac" simply say that Jolliet "n'a voyagé qu'après le S<sup>r</sup> de la Salle,"<sup>42</sup> and these memoirs were written not by Frontenac but by Bernou who, at the time, was anxious to boost La Salle's ability as an explorer.<sup>43</sup> With regard to the map of Jolliet which mentions La Salle's voyages, the reference to these voyages is an interpolation, and the map is one which Jolliet never saw.<sup>44</sup>

Of the five copies of Dablon's version of the voyage of 1673, that in the Archives du Service Hydrographique was published by Margry.<sup>45</sup> As is well known, Margry was not very particular when it came to reproducing documents. In the case of the narrative of the discovery of the Mississippi, however, apart from modernizing the spelling of some words, and keeping the old spelling of others, or "archaizing" the spelling of still other words; apart from punctuating, capitalizing, and accenting the text according to the rules of modern French; apart from misreading and excising some words; and finally, apart from omit-

<sup>41</sup> The first mention of a "prise de possession" by Jolliet in 1673 occurs in a document of 1685. In the latter year, on the occasion of a controversy with regard to the extent of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec, M. Dudouyt, Saint-Vallier's vicar-general in Paris, claimed that Jolliet had arbores the arms of the King of France "partout ou le Père Marquette a planté la croix." BN, Clairambault, 1016:629.

<sup>42</sup> BN, Clairambault, 1016:48v.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. J. Delanglez, *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, Chicago, 1939, 176-178.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *id.*, *Some La Salle Journeys*, Chicago, 1938, 32-33.

<sup>45</sup> Margry, I, 262-270. Father Steck, *op. cit.*, 173, note 99, was mistaken when he wrote that "Margry used apparently the Renaudot copy." Margry himself, III, 647, says that the document which he published is from the "Dépôt des Cartes, Plans et Journaux de la Marine," as ASH was referred to until recently.

ting one sentence toward the end which destroys the sense of the passage—quite a few “aparts,” I admit—the document is faithfully reproduced. Margry’s text was reprinted by Thwaites<sup>46</sup> who preferred it to Douniol’s, because Rochemonteix had written that the document was “not exactly reproduced” in Douniol’s edition, whereas Margry “gives the text very nearly as we read it in the Roman manuscript.”<sup>47</sup>

The present publication of the actual Roman manuscript will enable the reader to compare it with De Montézon’s version in the *Relations inédites*.<sup>48</sup> On comparison it will be seen that the text of Dablon’s narrative of the Jolliet-Marquette expedition was tampered with by De Montézon in the same way as was the text of the Relation of 1672-1673. Not only did he modernize the spelling, the punctuation, and the capitalization, but he “improved” the style, omitted important clauses, and in recasting whole paragraphs introduced interpretations at variance with the obvious meaning of the text which he was supposedly editing.

The printed text is an exact reproduction of the text of the Jersey manuscript, supplemented by variant readings as described below. In the critical apparatus, no account has been taken of inconsistent spellings; the haphazard punctuation of the other manuscripts has not been inserted; differences of paragraphing and erratic capitalization have not been indicated, and abbreviations which are clearly idiosyncracies of the various copyists, have been ignored. With regard to other variants, the following procedure has been adopted. Words omitted in ASH have been inserted in parentheses ( ); additions are also indicated in parentheses but the words added are italicized. In the case of substitution the Jersey manuscript reading and the substitution are both given in parentheses, the substitution being put immediately after the Jersey reading. Brackets [ ], instead of parentheses, indicate the Saint-Sulpice variants. The variants of the other manuscripts are given in the footnotes; the other footnotes are self-explanatory.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

<sup>46</sup> JR, 58:92-108.

<sup>47</sup> *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, III, 23, note 1.

<sup>48</sup> *Relations inédites*, I, 262-270.



## DOCUMENT

Relation de la decouverte de la Mer // du Sud // faite par les Riuieres de la nouuelle france // Enuoyé de Quebec par le Pere Dablon // Superieur general des missions de la Compagnie // de Jesus le 1<sup>er</sup> [Jour d']<sup>1</sup> Aoust 1674.<sup>2</sup>

Il y a deux ans que Monsieur [le Comte] de frontenac nostre gouuerneur et M<sup>r</sup>. Talon alors nostre Intendant, jugerent qu'il estoit important de s'appliquer a la decouuerte (de la mer) du midy, apres celle qui a esté faicte de la mer du Nord, et sur tout de scauoir dans quelle mer s'alloit decharger la grande Riuiere dont les Sauuages font tant de recit, et qui est a 500 lieües (d'icy) (d'eux) [au dela des outaouiax] [oitaoüiax]. (dans) (Pour) ce dessein ils ne purent faire choix de personne qui eust de plus belles qualités que du sieur Jolliet, qui a beaucoup frequenté (ce pais la) (de ce costé La), et qui (de fait) s'en est acquité avec (toute la generosité, [toute l'adresse,] et) toute la conduite qu'on pouuoit souhaiter.

Estant arriué aux Outaouiax il se joignit au pere Marquette, qui (l') attendoit pour cela, et qui depuis long temps premeditoit cette entreprise, l'ayant bien des fois concertée ensemble /

Ils se mirent (*donc*) en chemin avec cinq autres françois vers le commencement de Juin 1673, pour entrer dans des pais, où jamais (aucun) European (n') auoit mis le(s) pied(s). (Estans partis) (Leur Journael portoit que partant) de la Baye des puants par les 43 degrés quarente minutttes d'eleuation, (ils nauigerent) (vers le commencem<sup>t</sup> ils auoient nauigé) sur une petite Riuiere fort douce et fort agreable, pres de 60 lieües tirant vers Lloüest suroüest; ils cherchoient un portage de demy lieüe qui les deuoit faire passer de cette Riuiere dans une autre qui venoit du Noroüest, sur laquelle (s')estants embarqués, et ayant fait quarente lieües vers le soroüest, Enfin le 15 [de] Juin, se trouuant a 42 degres et demy, ils entrerent heurusment dans cette fameuse Riuiere que les sauuages appellent Misscisiipi, comme qui diroit la grande riuiere, parce que de fait (cest) (elle est) la plus considerable de (*toutes*) celles qui sont de ce pais la; Elle vient de fort loing du costé du Nord, au raport des Sauuages; elle est belle et a pour l'ordinaire un quart de lieüe de large; Elle (*en*) a bien plus aux endroits où elle est coupee

<sup>1</sup> This word is also omitted in the Moreau manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> The title in ASH reads thus: Relation de La Decouuerte de Plusieurs Pays // situés au Midi de La Nouvelle France faite en 1673. // The opening paragraph of this manuscript is taken from *infra*, note 13.



d'Isles, qui sont neantmoins assés rares, Elle a jusques a dix brasses d'eau et elle coule fort doucement jusqu'a ce qu'elle reçoive la decharge d'une (*autre*) grosse Riuere qui vient de Loliest (&) noroüest,<sup>3</sup> vers le 38 degrés de hauteur: car estant enflé de ces (deux) eaües, elle deuient si rapide, et a un courant si rude, qu'en remontant on ne peut faire que quatre (a) (ou)<sup>4</sup> 5 lieües par jour nageant<sup>5</sup> depuis le matin jusqu'au soir /

Il y a des bois des deux costés jusques a la mer: les plus puissants des arbres qu'on y voit, sont une espece de Cottonnier, qui sont extraordinairement gros et hauts, aussy les sauuaiges s'en seruent ils pour faire des Canots tout d'une piece, de 50 pieds de long, et trois de large, dans lesquels 30 hommes<sup>6</sup> avec (*tout*) leur equipage peuuent s'embarquer, ils les trauaillent avec bien plus de petitesse<sup>7</sup> que nous ne faisons les nostres; (et) ils en ont un si grand nombre, qu'(a) (en) une seule bourgade on en (voit) (vit) jusqu'a Cent quatre vingts ensemble.

Les nations sont placeés ou proche la grande Riuere, ou plus loing (dans) (vers) les terres. Nos voyageurs (comtent) (compterent) plus de 40 bourgades, dont la plupart sont composeés de 60 et 80 cabanes quelques unes de 300, comme celle des Ilinois qui a plus de huit mille ames, Tous les Sauuaiges qui (les) (la) composent paroissent d'un bon naturel, ils sont affables et obligeans. /

Nos françois ressentirent les effets de cette Ciuilité (des) (de) la premiere bourgade ou ils entrèrent, car cest (lors) (la) qu'on leur (fit) (fait) present d'un baston de Petunoir, long de trois [pieds] [doigts], enuironné<sup>8</sup> (*et*) façonné de divers plumages, (et) [(ce)] qui est un grand mystere parmy ces peuples (pour) [(par)] ce quil est comme un Passeport et une sauuegarde pour aller en assurance (partout) (parmi toutes Les Nations) sans qu'on ose en aucune (façon) (maniere) offenser ceux qui portent ces caducez. on[n']a qu'a le montrer, et on est assuré de la vie, mesme dans le plus fort [du] combat, comme il y a baston de

<sup>3</sup> The insertion of the conjunction changes the sense.

<sup>4</sup> In the Moreau manuscript "ou" instead of "a" is also found.

<sup>5</sup> Father de Montézon changed "nageant" into "voguant" on the manuscript. Cf. Tailhan's comment on this "correction" in Cordier, *Mélanges Américains*, 63. Apparently, De Montézon did not know that the verb "nager" also meant "to row" in the seventeenth century.

<sup>6</sup> "Trois" in Renaudot, instead of "trente," is clearly a distraction of the copyist.

<sup>7</sup> The other manuscripts have "avec bien plus de politesse," that is, with more finish. The reading in the Jersey manuscript does not make sense. This is one of the variants indicating that the other manuscripts do not depend on the one printed here, but on an archetype no longer extant.

<sup>8</sup> See the reading in Margry.

paix, il y en a aussy un [autre] de guerre qui ne sont differens neantmoins que par la couleur des plumes dont ils sont couverts; le rouge estant marque de guerre, et les autres couleurs (*signe*) de paix. il y auroit bien des choses a dire de ce baston, aussy bien que des moeurs et des façons de faire de ces peuples, en attendant que nous en receuions le recit, nous dirons seulement que les femmes y sont fort retenu(e)s, aussy leur coupe (ton) (tous) le nez quand elles font mal.

Ce sont elles qui avec les vieillars ont (le) soin de la culture de la terre, et quand les semences sont faites, tous partent ensemble pour aller aux enuirons, a la chasse<sup>9</sup> des boeufs sauvages dont ils se nourrissent, et se font des habits de leurs peaux, qu'ils passent avec une certaine terre qui leur sert (aussy) de peinture. /

Ce sol est si fertile qu'il(s) (font) (porte) trois fois l'année du bled, Il produit naturellement des fruits qui nous sont inconnus, (mais) (&) qui sont excellens: le(s) raisin(s), les prunes, les pomes, les meures, les marons, les grenades, et quantité d'autres se cueillent partout, et presque en tout temps, aussy (n'y) (ne) connoist ton l'hiver que par les pluyes. /

Les prairies et les forestz partagent egalement ce pais, qui fournit de beaux pasturages a un grand nombre de bestes dont il est remply, les boeufs sauvages ne fuient jamais, le Pere en a conté jusques a 400. en une seule bande, Les Cerfs (et) les biches, les Cheureuils sont presque partout, les Cocqs d'inde se pourmenent de tous costés, les peroquets y volent par bandes de dix ou douze,<sup>10</sup> Et les Cailles se leuent dans les prairies a tout moment.

C'est au milieu de ce beau pais que nos voyageurs passaient avançant sur la grande riuere jusqu'au 33° degré de l'eleuation, et allant presque toujours vers le midy: ils rencontroient de temps en temps des sauvages, (desquels) (dont) ils estoient bien receus a la faueur de leur Caducez ou baston de Petunoir [Petun noir] (Calumet), et sur la fin ils aprirent d'eux, qu'ils approchoient des habitations des Europeans (&) qu'ils n'en estoient esloignés que de trois journées, puis de deux seulement, qu'ils auoient<sup>11</sup> a la main gauche, et qu'ils n'auoient plus que 50 Lieues pour se rendre a la mer. /

<sup>9</sup> "Charge" instead of "chasse" in the Moreau manuscript.

<sup>10</sup> This sentence precedes "les Cocqs d'inde . . . costés," in the Saint-Sulpice manuscript.

<sup>11</sup> The other manuscripts also have "auoient." De Montézon printed "allassent." Margry transcribed the word correctly, but Thwaites' reprint has: "qu'ils avoient [allassent—Down.; sc. etoient—Ed.] à la main gauche."

Ce fut pour lors que le pere et le S<sup>r</sup>. Joliet delibererent sur ce qu'ils auoient a faire, scauoir s'il estoit expedient de passer outre, ne doutant point qu'ils n'allassent se jeter entre les mains des Espagnols de la floride, s'ils auançoient d'auantage, qu'ils exposeroient les françois qui les accompagnoient a un danger euidant d'y laisser la vie, qu'ils perdroient le fruit de leurs (trauaux) (voyages) et qu'ils n'en pourroient pas donner connoissance, s'ils estoient arrestés prisonniers, comme (bien) probablement ils le seroient s'ils tom oient entre les mains (de ces) (des) Europeans. /

Ces raisons leur firent prendre resolution de retourner sur leurs pas,<sup>12</sup> apres s'estre bien informés de Tout ce qu'on peut souhaitter dans une pareille rencontre, ils ne reprirent pas entierement le mesme chemin, s'estans rendus sur la fin de Nouembre a la baye des puants par des routes differentes sans autre guide que leur b(o)usssole.

Nous ne pouuons pas donner cette année toute la (satisfaction) (L instruction) qu'on pourroit esperer d'une decouuerte si considerable, (par ce que) (puisque) le S<sup>r</sup>. Joliet, qui nous en apportoit la relation, avec une carte tres exacte de ces nouueaux pais, la perdue par le naufrage qu'il a fait au (dessus) (dessous) du Sault Saint Louis, proche (de) Montreal apres en auoir franchy plus de 40. a peine a t'il pû sauuer sa vie, qu'il a disputé dans les eaux pendant 4 heures de temps. voicy Toutes fois ce que nous en auons pû recueillir de ce qu'il nous a raconté, l'année prochaine nous en donnerons une pleine relation, Le pere Marquette ayant gardé une Copie de celle qui a esté perdue, on y verra bien des choses capables de Contenter les curieux, et de satisfaire les geographes touchant les difficultés qu'ils peuuent auoir sur la description qu'ils font de ces quartiers de l'amerique septentrionale /<sup>13</sup>

En attendant le journal de ce voyage nous pouuons faire les remarques suiuanes touchant l'utilité de cette decouuerte /

La premiere est qu'elle nous ouure un grand (chemin) (champ) pour la publication de la foy, et nous donne entrée a

JR, 58:100. This is a needless correction. Joliet told Dablon that the explorers had the Europeans on their left going down, that is, on the east bank of the Mississippi, a clear reference to the Spaniards in Florida. De Montézon's correction does not make sense.

<sup>12</sup> The Moreau manuscript has "en leur pays" instead of "sur leurs pas."

<sup>13</sup> How this paragraph was recast by the copyist of ASH may be seen by comparing the text as printed here with the first and last paragraphs in Margry or in Thwaites.

des peuples tres nombreux, tres dociles, et bien portés a la recevoir. ayant fait paroistre un grand desir de [revoir] [recevoir] au plustost le pere [et] (&) ayant receu avec (*beaucoup de*) respect les premieres paroles de vie<sup>14</sup> qu'il leur a annoncé, les langues toutes differentes de ces nations ne font pas peur a nos missionnaires : quelques uns (d'eux) (dentre eux) entendent desja et se font entendre des Illinois, qui sont les premiers qu'on (y) rencontre; et c'est chés eux que le pere Marquette (a commencé) (va commencer) a establir le Royaume de Jesus christ. /

La seconde remarque est touchant le terme de cette decouverte. Le pere et le S<sup>r</sup>. Joliet ne doutent point que ce ne soit vers le golphe (*de*) Mexique, qui est la floride parce que du costé du leuant ce ne peut pas estre la virginie, dont le bord la mer est (au) (a) plus (au) (de) 34° degré (z)<sup>15</sup> de l'eleuation, et eux ont marché jusques au 33°. et cependant n'ont approché de la mer que de 50 lieües: du costé du couchant<sup>16</sup> ce ne peut pas aussy estre la mer vermeille, par ce que leur route ayant presque toujours esté vers le sud, les en detournoit, il reste donc que ce soit la floride, qui est au milieu de l'un et de l'autre, et bien (*plus*) probablement la riuere que les geographes marquent et appellent du S<sup>t</sup>. Esprit est Missesipi,<sup>17</sup> sur laquelle nos françois ont nauigé /

La troisieme remarque est que comme il eut esté tres souhaitable<sup>18</sup> que le terme de cette decouverte eust esté la mer vermeille, qui eut donné en mesme temps entreé dans la mer du Japon et de la chine, aussy ne doit on pas desesperer de venir a bout de cettre [autre] decouverte de la mer du couchant, par le moyen de Missisipj, par ce que remontant au Norouest, par la riuere qui si decharge par le 38 degré, comme nous auons dit, peut estre arriuera ton a quelque lac qui (a) (aura) sa decharge vers le couchant, (*qui est*) ce que l'on (rcherche) [(cherche)],<sup>19</sup> et (ce) qui est d'autant plus a esperer, que toutes ces terres sont

<sup>14</sup> The copyist of the Renaudot manuscript omitted the two words "de vie."

<sup>15</sup> The copyist of the ASH manuscript evidently did not understand what Dablon meant. The Moreau manuscript has "... est au plus de 34 degré ..."

<sup>16</sup> Margry's insertion of a period after this word makes the passage unintelligible.

<sup>17</sup> On this opinion of Dablon, cf. "El Rio del Espíritu Santo," *MID-AMERICA*, XXVI, 1944, 155-156.

<sup>18</sup> "Raisnable" instead of "souhaitable" in the Moreau manuscript.

<sup>19</sup> The word is spelled "cherge" in ASH; the Jersey copyist clearly meant to write "recherche."



remplies de lacs<sup>20</sup> et coupeés de riuieres, qui donnent de merueilleuses communications à ces pais, des uns aux autres, comme on (en) peut juger (par)<sup>21</sup>

La quatriesme remarque (qui touche) (regarde) un auantage bien (*grand & bien*) considerable, et qu'on aura peut este (*de la*) peine a croire, c'est que nous pourrions (assés) aisement<sup>22</sup> aller jusqu'a la floride en barque, et par une fort belle navigation, il n'y auroit qu'une seignéé a faire, coupant demye lieüe de prairie seulement, pour entrer du fond du lac des Illinois dans la riuere (de) S<sup>t</sup>. Louis, [voicy la route qu'on tiendrait, la barque se deuroit faire dans le lac Erié qui est proche de Lontario. Elle iroit aisement (de) (du lac) Erié dans le lac huron d'ou elle entreroit dans le lac des Illinois, au fond duquel on feroit la trancheé ou la canal dont jay parlé, pour auoir passage dans la riuierre (*de*) S<sup>t</sup>. Louis,]<sup>23</sup> qui se decharge dans Missisipi, y etant la barque(nauigeroit) (nauigable) facilement jusqu'au golphe de Mexique: Le fort de Catarokouy que M<sup>r</sup>. le comte de

<sup>20</sup> "Bois[!]" instead of "lacs" in Margry.

<sup>21</sup> The reading of the Jersey manuscript is the correct one, and reproduces that of the archetype. The Saint-Sulpice manuscript has "Comme on en peut juger par la./." The reading in ASH, and therefore, in Margry and in Thwaites, is as shown in the text, "comme on peut juger." De Montézon printed the following, "comme on peut en juger par ce que nous voyons . . ."; adding in a note: "Ici quelques mots manquent dans le manuscrit." Thwaites commented on this reading as follows: "This, and various important differences in the text, show that Margry and Martin [*i. e.*, De Montézon] used different copies of this document . . . the additional phrase and the hiatus may be a reference to a map drawn by Joliet." JR, 58:294, note 8. All the surmises about this passage prove needless when the text is read as the author, Dablon, meant it to be read. Father Steck, in particular, could have spared us his philological remarks concerning the "meaning of the French idiom." Father Garraghan and "The Joliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673," [1930], 11. The word is not "là" but "la," that is, the feminine definite article agreeing with "remarque"; its place is not at the end of the paragraph where the copyist of the Saint-Sulpice manuscript has it, but at the beginning of the next. As can be seen, the ASH and the Saint-Sulpice copyists did not understand what they were copying. Yet what Dablon meant is perfectly clear. He hoped that a passage as easy as that between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi basins, would also be found between a tributary of the Mississippi—the Missouri—and the headwaters of a river emptying into the Sea of the West. The network of lakes and rivers of which he was told by Joliet "affords a wonderful means of communication between these countries, as one can judge from the fourth remark which treat of a very important advantage. . . ." It thus turns out that the explanation of this passage is much simpler than that of those who seem to take pleasure in looking for "midi à quatorze heures." It cannot be said that this explanation could only be given by one who had access to the Jesuit private archives, for the Moreau manuscript has the same reading, and the latter document, in the public archives of France, could have been consulted by any one who so desired.

<sup>22</sup> "Facilement" in the Moreau manuscript.

<sup>23</sup> This is the passage left out by the copyist of the Saint-Sulpice manuscript.



frontenac a fait construire sur l'ontario, fauoriseroit beaucoup cette entreprise, par ce qu'il faciliteroit la communication de Quebec au lac Erié, d'ou ce fort n'est pas beaucoup esloigné et sans une cheute d'eau qui separe (*le lac*) Erié d'auec (*celuy de*) l'ontario la barque qui se (*bastit*) (*bastiroit*) a Catarokouy, pourroit aller jusqu'a la floride, par les routes que ie viens de marquer. /

La Cinquiesme [remarque] est [touchant] les grans auantages qu'il y a detablir de nouuelles colonies dans de si beau pais, et sur des terres si fertilles. voicy ce qu'en dit le [dit] Sieur Joliet, car c'est (*La*) sa penséé, dans le commencement lors que l'on (*me*) parloit de ces terres sans arbres, Je m'y maginois un pays bruslé, ou (*bien*) que la terre y estoit [si] chetieue qu'elle n'y pouuoit rien produire: mais nous auons (*bien*) remarqué le contraire, et il ne s'en peut trouuer de meilleur, n'y pour les bleds, n'y pour la vigne n'y pour quelques (*autres*) fruits que ce soit.

La Riuiere que nous auons nommée de S'. Louis, et qui [*nous*] vient [de proche] du fond du lac des Illinois, m'a paru la plus belle, et la plus facile pour estre (habituée) [(habitée)]. l'endroit par lequel nous sommes entrés dans ce lac, est un haure fort commode pour y receuoir les vaisseaux, et les mettre a l'abry du vent, Cette riuiere est large et profonde, remplie de Barbes [et] desturgeons. le gibier y est en abondance, les boeufs, les vaches, les cerfs, (*les biches*), les Cocqs d'Inde y paroissent beaucoup plus qu'ailleurs, pendant l'espace de 80 lieües<sup>24</sup> Je nay pas esté un quart d'heure sans en voir, il y a des prairies de trois, de six, de dix, et de 20 lieües de long, et de trois de large, enuironnées de forests de mesme estendue, au dela desquel (*le*)s les prairies recommencent, en sorte qu'il y a autant de l'un que de l'autre, on rencontre quelques fois les herbes fort basses (quelques fois) (& d'autrefois)<sup>25</sup> on les voit hautes de cinq (et) [(a)]<sup>26</sup> six pieds. le chanure qui y croit naturellement, monte jusqu'a huit piedz /

Un habitant n'emploiroit (point [les dix anneés]) [dix ans] (pas La des dix ans) a abbatre le bois et a le brusler: des le mesme jour qu'il y (arriveroit) (entreroit), il mettroit la charüe en terre, et s'il n'auoit pas des boeufs de france, il se serueroit de ceux du pais, ou (*bien*) de ces animaux qu'ont les

<sup>24</sup> The Renaudot manuscript has "8" instead of "80."

<sup>25</sup> This sentence, one line in ASH, was overlooked by Margry. Thwaites supplied it from Douniol.

<sup>26</sup> "Ou" in the Moreau manuscript.

sauuages de Louïest, sur lesquels ils se font porter comme nous sur (nos) (Les) cheuaux, apres la semence de toute sorte de grains, il s'apliqueroit surtout a planter [de] la vigne, et a enter des arbres fruitiers, (a passer) des peaux de boeufs, (dont) il(s) se feroi(en)t des souliers, et de leur(s) laine(s) (ils se feroient) des estoffes, qui (seroient beaucoup) (seront) plus fines, que (*plusieurs de*) celles (que) (qu'on) nous (apportons) (apporte) de france: (&) ainsy il(s) trouueroi(en)t (*aissement sur le pays*) de quoy se nourrir et se couurir, rien (ne) (ny) [manquant] [manqueroit] que le sel, mais il ne seroit pas bien difficile d'obuier a cette inconvenient, par (des) (les) precautions qu'on peut prendre./.<sup>27</sup>

Relation des missions les plus proches des habitations  
françoises les années 1672 et 1673

De la mission de nostre dame de foye proche de Quebec.

Les bons chrestiens de cette mission. . . .<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> The short paragraph added to the copy in ASH is taken from the paragraph omitted *supra*, note 13.

<sup>28</sup> These are the opening lines of the 1672-1673 Relation. They occur at the top of page 5 of the manuscript, immediately after the narrative of the discovery of the Mississippi.

# INDEX

## MID-AMERICA

### VOLUME XXVI

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Names of the contributors are in small capitals; titles of articles in this volume are in quotation marks; titles of books and periodicals reviewed or mentioned are in italics. Book reviews are entered under author and title of book, and under the name of the reviewer; no entries are made for subject of the book except in the case of biographies. The following abbreviations are used: tr., translator; ed., editor; revs., reviews; revd., reviewed.

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